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PERMANENT REPUBLICAN CLUBS.

THE organization of Republican clubs, forming a compact body from the local club up through County Leagues and State Leagues, and then into one National League, has an underlying method and principle which is perhaps better adapted to the Republican party at this time than to any other body or at any other time. Every one who has thought out the subject recognizes the power and usefulness of union and joint action; and by all is admitted the great value of a headquarters open every day and evening, where stated meetings are held and papers read and speeches and discussions had. But one thing is not generally recognized, and it would seem as if it were not fully believed by a large mass of our citizens, and that is the fact of every voter having a personal and direct interest in the result of every election, and hence his duty to array himself on one side or the other of every question forming party issues in a great campaign. How often is an election spoken of in slurring, jesting, even scoffing words, as if the depositing of a single ballot was of little or no value, and the final result of electing somebody to office would not, after all, materially affect anybody, because the country is too large and the various industries too great and well established to be disturbed or broken down by any official, whatever his proclivities or character. This tendency to ignore the value of citizenship is quite as great among the poorer as among the richer citi-

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zens; it prevails among all the classes of voters, and hence it is that this year is a valuable time and opportunity to show the people the necessity of intelligent action on the questions before us.

Take the tariff direct to the 17,000,000 of workingmen and show them how their wages are dependent on the result, and no one can believe they are going to vote against themselves. Then the use of money for illegal purposes will die a natural death, if a campaign on vital questions is started in the right way and at the right time. Bribery of club members is an unheard of thing; in fact bribery is more prevalent when stagnation among the citizens is the rule, than when they are all alert and each striving to do his best for a given result.

The use of clubs can be great to prevent the disgraceful slanders and libels and mud throwing so freely indulged in during certain campaigns, and it is not too much to say that a united effort of the 1,500 Republican clubs now in existence (1,000 of which have been formed since the national convention of clubs), could put an end to the unjust and outrageous attacks on the private character of the candidates. Aside from questions involved in this present year, there is no good reason why the Republican party should not be organized as a National party on a permanent basis, and continue to exist as such, like any order of fraternity or secret society, or the church denominations. It is waste of time to be getting up new parties for a single question; let the existing bodies take up the new questions as they present themselves, the individuals remain the same and the human desires and plans remain unchanged; and under such a plan of organization, it would be like other societies where members come and go without destroying the main body itself.

It is said the mission of the Republican party ended with the war, but this assertion is made not by the friends but by the enemies of the party, while in truth the mission of the Republican party will end only when the Government itself is ended; and club organization can perpetuate the party, especially if they will become incorporated bodies under the State laws, such as were passed in New York last year. Where such laws do not exist, it behooves the clubs to have them enacted.

JAMES P. FOSTER.

NEW YORK.

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The political clubs are needed as store-houses for gathering and distributing Republican truths. These truths now-a-days are not moral but economical. No man can comprehend them on a simple statement. They must be studied. The old kind of questions—slavery and disunion, for example—are so nearly questions of right and wrong, that any man could answer them, so soon as put. But the questions of to-day, protection and free trade, universal or restricted immigration, and the like, can be answered only after investigation. The citizen must first inform himself, or be informed. With the old-time questions it was enough to give notice that they were at issue, and then to kindle the zeal of the voter to settle them. For these two purposes the Campaign Club was sufficient. It stirred men's souls. But it is useless to try to stir men's souls to enthusiasm for economic truths, until you have convinced men of the value of them. This is the function of the permanent club. It gathers facts and draws conclusions from them. Scattered over the State, each naturally gives peculiar attention to the particular industry of its own section, and elicits special facts. Two incidents, which happened last week, illustrate better than argument what we mean. In a club at Paterson, a busy city, where iron is an absorbing industry, Dr. Murray Butler, to exhibit the crudity of Mr. Cleveland's claim, that the duty is added to the cost, said: "Our Pennsylvania road has just ordered 50,000 tons of steel rails at $31.50. The cost in England is $24. Add to $24, the duty, which is $17, and the freight and other charges at $4, and the cost in America, if Mr. Cleveland was correct, would approach $45." The same week, Hart Brewer, always a potter, and sometimes a Member of Congress, in Trenton, where potteries are the industry, told how the prices of pottery had been so reduced to consumers, that now, when a 50 per cent. tariff was ruling, the wares sold for half the price they did when the duty was only 24 per cent. Add to such facts those elicited in agricultural counties, which demonstrate that New Jersey's soil became more valuable than the soil of any other State, acre for acre, because the scattering centres of manufacturing industries made it so, and one begins to get some idea of the value of the permanent club to New Jersey Republicanism.

WILLIAM WALTER PHELPS.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW asks my opinion on the importance of permanent organization of Republican clubs in Michigan. Now, in the first place, I cannot expect to suggest a thought upon this subject that has not occurred to every one who will give the time to read this communication; and, second, whatever applies to Michigan will, of course, hold good in every State. Every old soldier well remembers the difference in strength and efficiency between a well organized and thoroughly disciplined military force, from an army down to a squad, compared with the same troops at "mustering in." So, too, every man who has had experience in organized business or labor knows well the strength of united effort to carry out a single purpose. Thus the forming of clubs with the one object to distribute all information concerning the principles of *all* parties that can be obtained, will, without doubt, result in turning over this government to the Republican party again, where, for the benefit of the whole country, it should be and remain. The Republicans have voters enough to accomplish this, and if thoroughly organized, as they can best be through the united effort of these clubs, there can be no doubt as to the results at the coming election. As before suggested, every argument advanced by *all* parties, and every fact that can be obtained from any source bearing upon national questions, should be gathered and laid before every voter in the country, where they can and will judge between them. If this is done the Republican party need not have any fear as to the outcome. Let that party take a fearless stand upon every question that relates to the best interests of the whole country, and there form its line of battle, and it must win. Courage is the one indispensable qualification for success in every avocation in life, be it religion, business, or politics.

R. A. ALGER.

DETROIT, Mich.

Political conditions in Virginia are so different from those existing North that it would be difficult to argue in favor of any particular line of organization here because it had succeeded there. There is no section of the country except the South in which either party is every day presented to the white voter as the malignant enemy of the white race; or in which opposition

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to either party is raised by incessant appeals to passion. Southern Democracy is not formed on the advocacy of any principle. It embraces men of every variety of views upon every political question. It represents the agglomeration of prejudices against the Republican party for its past record and against the negro as a political power. Whatever tends to show the active presence of Republicanism; whatever makes the negro prominent as an organized political worker, is calculated to excite the passions of the Democracy here and inflame them to greater activity, rather than to enlist their attention and inquiry as to whether Republicanism may not be right after all. What is known as "still-hunting" in politics has been found much more effective by the Republicans in Virginia than ostentatious display of organization. Active, silent work, earnest appeals to the reason of the voter, and quietly disabusing him of his sectional and race prejudices, always produce good fruit on election day. On the other hand, the organization of clubs, their meetings, parades, and signs of vitality generally serve as a red flag to the Democratic bull and rouse him to the fury desired by Bourbon leaders. Another difficulty is this: the object of the club is naturally to gain adherents from the white Democracy. The blacks are already Republican. If the club is organized with both blacks and whites, the presence, and, perhaps, the preponderance of black members, repels new converts with old prejudices. If the club is organized of white men only, the exclusion of the black would justly give them great offense. The poverty of the party in Virginia is such as to preclude the idea of a dual organization of clubs. Clubs organized as they are throughout the North undoubtedly do great good in disseminating our principles, especially on the tariff question; that question has excited a great deal of interest in Virginia and gained the Republican party a great many white converts, but the good accomplished by clubs here would be nothing like as great as in the North, because the classes reached by that means here are not near so intelligent or well educated as there. On the whole, my conclusion is that, considering all things, the organization of permanent Republican clubs in Virginia on the scale and with the object contemplated by your query would be disadvantageous rather than beneficial.

JOHN S. WISE.

RICHMOND, Va.

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To determine what is the use in New Hampshire of new clubs such as were recommended by the great and inspiriting Republican Club Convention, which met in New York, December 15th, 1887, it is necessary to understand what is the present Republican organization in that State. Its merit and success arise from its completeness and from the soundness of the principle on which it is based, namely, that political organization should begin at the bottom, with the voters in their primary meetings, and proceed upward; and should never begin at the top with a few high officers attempting to secure organization by issuing orders downward. In 1856 the first Fremont Club was formed in Concord, and was followed by the organization of similar clubs in the other towns and in the wards of the cities. These clubs came to be the regular organization of the Republican party. The statute laws require, before elections, a universal registration of all the voters in the State; and the lists thus made are used at the Republican primaries to prevent fraudulent voting, the only danger necessary to guard against being, in a few of the cities, the casting of votes by Democrats. The town and ward clubs elect delegates to each State nominating convention and at that convention the delegates from each of the ten counties choose members of the State Committee, which consists of about one hundred. But at the meetings of the State Committee the leading Republicans of the State ordinarily gather, are cordially welcomed; and uniformly all Republicans present are invited both to speak and to vote. This broad custom has worked most beneficially, and by reason of it no complaint has ever been made of the State Committee. There are 235 towns and 37 wards in the State, and our printed list shows none without a Republican club. Three names are printed for each town and ward: First, the president; second, the chairman of the executive committee, and third, the secretary. From the headquarters of the State Committee, at Concord, nine-tenths of all the clubs can be reached by circular letter in one day and all the others within a day and a half. There have been at times differences and rivalries in the Republican ranks, but in none of these have serious complaint been made of any unfairness in the principles or methods of the party organization, of which, as a whole, the Republicans of New Hampshire are justly proud.

It may be asked then, What is the need of additional clubs such as are now proposed? The answer is, to supplement the

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existing organizations and lift them out of their ordinary ruts, to set on foot more discussions of vital principles, to arouse and interest the younger voters, and to inspirit in various ways all Republicans to meet the impending conflict of 1888, and those which are to follow. Auxiliary clubs are always helpful and should ever be encouraged by the regular organization of a party whose members need to be aroused so that the full vote may be brought to the polls. Space enough is not allotted me to argue this point, but I speak from experience. In any canvass if three men alone wish to organize themselves as a Republican club, one to be president, another secretary, and the third treasurer, by all means encourage them to do it. Their work may, in addition to their own votes, secure three more, which may save the election.

There is little danger that these new clubs will clash with the regular organizations. (1) All are working for a common purpose and will endeavor to avoid conflict. (2) The regular organizations will call all the meetings for the election of delegates to nominate candidates. A fundamental principle of the new organizations is that they shall not undertake to influence or control nominations. So long as they observe this principle it will not be harmful, but helpful, if by their zeal, manifested by holding meetings, by opening reading rooms, by circulating documents and by bringing to the front new men in politics they stimulate to more vigorous activity the older and regular organizations of the party.

In New Hampshire a State club was organized as early as November 30th, 1886, called the Lincoln Club, of which Governor Sawyer is president. Other local clubs have been organized in Concord, Nashua, and other places. How far, in view of our present superior organization, it will be deemed advisable to push the new movement beyond the organization of the State League, which will be done by the Lincoln Club, February 15th, remains to be decided; but already we have seen good results from the organization of our own clubs and from the zeal and enthusiasm which went out from the New York Convention. From the foregoing it can be seen that I heartily favor the permanent organization of Repulican clubs; in each State according to its own special needs and circumstances.

WM. E. CHANDLER.

WASHINGTON, D. C

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It is difficult to overestimate the good which may result from such organization. If it be said that it creates a machine, the answer is that it is the control of the machine, and not the machine itself, which is to be feared. What is known as "Bossism" may justly be condemned, but not efficient organization for the purpose of carrying out the wishes of a majority in accordance with party principle. Even the "Independent," whose cry for independent voting and emancipation from party thraldom has been so loud in the past, knows that no great change can be brought about except through party organization, so he forms a party and denies independence to the individual, either by using his organization as a balance of power, or by alliance with some other party, to accomplish his ends. Strangely, too, these ends are generally just as personal, just as selfish, and, perhaps, just as corrupt, as those of the party he seeks to defeat. In Indiana we have seen some of the results of club organization. In 1880 "Young Men's Republican Clubs" sprung up throughout the State, held a State Convention, and effected an organization whose influence has been powerful for good in all subsequent campaigns. Following upon the close of the successful campaign of 1886, "The Lincoln League" was formed, not for the purpose of usurping the place or functions of any other club or association, but that all might be brought into more intimate relations with each other by means of a central organization in which all could have a membership. This League is now in successful operation, and during the coming campaign will have auxiliary clubs in every important town in the State. Of such an organization, State or National, the Republicans of Indiana have no fear. To them it means the diffusion of the latest information in political affairs, intelligent action upon the information, promptness and uniformity of action, better and more general knowledge of the wants of the party and the means to supply them, and such intelligent work as will insure the best results. "Bossism" is thus reduced to a minimum, and the collective judgment of the party attains its maximum strength. An organization which invites, collects, and disseminates the best thoughts of the best elements of the party, crystallizes them into declarations of principle, and brings about the most effective methods for instilling these principles into the minds of the people, is far more conducive to the best welfare of the nation than the organization which, in secret

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caucus, plots measures to thwart the will of the people, by fraudulent voting, ballot-box stuffing, tally-sheet forgeries, and refusing to recognize the results of elections.

R. S. ROBERTSON.

FORT WAYNE, Ind.

The idea of a system of permanent Republican clubs is new in this country. The plan contemplates their organization in every township; these local organizations to constitute State leagues, the State leagues the National League. Their purpose is to teach Republican principles and strengthen the Republican party. A broad distinction should be at once drawn between these and campaign clubs. Campaign clubs are for temporary purposes. They seek to arouse enthusiasm, stimulate partisan spirit, poll the full vote, elect the ticket. Election over, their functions cease. To secure permanency in political clubs, their point of objective interest must not be the offices and elections, except as they serve to insure the application of correct policies and principles in government. Clubs can only sustain a continuing interest in politics by studying present political issues, reviewing political history, holding regular discussions on pending and proposed legislation. If permanent, they must become centres of political education and exchange. Upon the politics of this country the salutary influence of such a system, carrying forward such a work, can barely be suggested within the limits of this article. These organizations will attract the best material in the party. They will insure individual research, and a practical understanding of legislation and of the affairs of government not heretofore attained. Both within and without they will emphasize the sense of obligation and personal responsibility in making and administering the laws. Such clubs cannot be used as machines for individuals or factions. Wherever they are actively maintained, political slates will be shattered and political bargains fail of consummation. Cliques and rings thrive upon the citizens' indifference to the plain duties of representative government. They cannot co-exist with the persistent, continuous, intelligent personal interest of the individual voter. The clubs will instruct at a time when it avails. In the heat and fever of the campaign correct premises are branded as assumptions, correct reasoning

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regarded fallacious, logical conclusions viewed with fear and suspicion. These organizations will work in seasons when the people can deliberately judge the reasons on which parties urge their claims to administration. Permanent political clubs will introduce in some measure new elements into the campaign. They will furnish a matured judgment of principles and parties, create sentiment for the right measures and the best men, train local speakers, and prepare the way for a profounder discussion of real issues. They will do much to substitute intelligent interest for unthinking enthusiasm, the lamp of reason for the torchlight, earnest conviction and wise leadership for the party whip and the party boss.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

The system of working politics under club organizations has been revived, and is attracting attention and exciting comment in political circles. History teaches that some of the most brilliant victories in American politics have been won through the agency of local club organizations. Notably that of 1840, when Log Cabin clubs sang the Democrats out of power, and the echoes of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" resounded from Maine to Louisiana and from Montauk to the Mississippi. Then again, in 1860, the Wide Awake and other clubs bore a conspicuous part in overthrowing the Democracy and seating Abraham Lincoln in the presidential chair. Civil war followed and the management of the political campaigns of the Republican party was intrusted to its National, Congressional, State, and County committees, a policy that has since prevailed. Last autumn the club spirit manifested itself afresh, and culminated in a convention of clubs in the city of New York. This convention was composed of delegates from nearly every State and Territory in the Union, including the District of Columbia. That body was enthusiastic in a high degree, and gravitated into a national organization known as the Republican League of the United States, with subordinate organizations in each State and Territory. The magnitude of this spontaneous movement has challenged both attention and comment, in view of the established usages of the Republican party, which have heretofore consigned to the National com-

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mittee the responsibility of managing Presidential campaigns; to the Congressional committee the Congressional elections, and to the several State committees the conduct of their respective State canvasses—these several organizations acting in concert. The new organization, coming spontaneously and abruptly to view, very naturally gives rise to the inquiries, Are the existing committees to be continued? If so, what occasion is there for supplementing their functions with another national organization, ostensibly to hold court over the same field and share the duties and responsibilities of the committees so long trusted with this service? These questions are to be settled by the recognized authorities of party organization when the usual time for action shall arrive, and it is neither wise nor needful that they should be discussed at this time. Of the organization and utility of local political clubs as aids in advancing the Republican cause, I can speak without a doubt. They are inexpensive and efficient agencies. They are spontaneous in creation and zealous and efficient in action. They supply local wants where the national organization, be it ever so efficient, cannot reach in detail, and where voluntary labor must be relied upon to fight battles and win victories. In local effort there is no danger of an excess either of machinery or labor, for the people are actuated entirely by a love for the cause and a patriotic desire for its success.

A. M. CLAPP.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

That political parties are strengthened, improved, and made progressive through the agency of permanently organized, active clubs, in the same way that the standard of great armies is raised by well-drilled, disciplined soldiers, has long been recognized in the larger centres of population, but never in the history of American politics has such a gigantic plan of widespread organization been attempted, as that mapped out by the recent New York Convention of Republican clubs. That the Territory of Dakota was represented by the writer in the deliberations of the convention in question is sufficient apology for the views herein expressed. And for what reason is Dakota interested in such a movement? Why should she, a mere satrapy of a great nation, the political asylum of the dominant party; denied the right

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guaranteed by the ordinance of '87, and vouchsafed by that constitution which twenty-five thousand of her loyal sons fought to sustain; refused self-government, slandered by the press, railed at by a political party supposed to represent the principles of Thomas Jefferson—why should she, denounced on the floor of the American Congress as an ill-tempered wench who knoweth not her own mind, lift up her voice and ask to be heard in a convention of Republican clubs, and in the great city of New York? Why indeed! Simply because she has a right to be heard in national councils wherever held. Because, after vainly knocking for a decade at the oaken panels of her father's house, she hears the welcome invitation, "come hither, daughter," from a council of kings. Here she could have a respectful hearing, aye more, though denied her constitutional rights by that same party which sought her life ere she had acquired territorial organization, she could lift her tear-dimmed eyes to that assembly, and command a nation's attention, a nation's sympathy. These are some among the many and, to me, cogent reasons why this fair damsel, without a birth-right other than the precious memory of her sainted god-father, tender, loving old father Abraham, should feel a mighty interest in every organization, convention, or conclave called and met together in the interest of a just administration of governmental affairs. A grand, glorious commonwealth, for twenty-seven long years condemned to wear the same scant, ill-fitting garment with which she left the nation's cradle; in behalf of such a commonwealth, whose tapering spires of kirk and school-house first greet the eye and are never beyond the limit of vision to her remotest inhabitant, I say all hail! to those who conceived and carried to a grand success the worthiest scheme of unified political organization ever laid before a free people.

A. B. GUPTILL.

FARGO, Dakota.

The importance of sincere unity and active co-operation of all Republicans in the impending campaign is obvious. No work that involves the co-operation of men with the same principles and measures of public interest at heart, which cover a continent, can be well done without the closest sympathy and co-operation.

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It is, therefore, I think, of the utmost importance to the success of the Republican party, and so to the welfare of the Republic, that the Republican organization should be made universal and complete to the last detail. In the present state of things it is, I think, clear that such an organization must depend for its success in the struggle upon a cheerful and hearty unity which sinks out of sight and thought any supposed claims or any ambitions of particular men, and it must look for its victory to the selection of candidates who, being personally free from reproach or suspicion, or even hostile and unjust prejudice, will command the cheerful and earnest support of *all* the voters in the country who really believe in Republican principles and who are not actuated by any selfish or other personal motives. Thus thinking, I hope that Republicans will organize everywhere upon the principles and with the objects I have stated. So doing, I confidently believe our party will achieve the success it deserves. Failing to do so, it is, I think, most certain of defeat, and in such a case it would, perhaps, deserve it.

GEORGE F. EDMUNDS.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Too much importance cannot be attached to the permanent organization of Republican clubs. The Republican party, to be successful, must be organized into clubs in every city, village, and hamlet, until the working of the party machinery represents the action of the human body. As the pulsation of the heart sends vigor and life blood to every portion of our physical frame, so should it be when the official head of the organization of the National Republican Clubs takes patriotic action. This official impulse of patriotism, acting through the club organizations, should move every Republican voter to renewed efforts for the success of his party. By permanent organization of clubs there would be a concentration of unlimited political power, and these organizations would mold the opinion of the party in advance of conventions. Such clubs in cities, where reformatory work is needed, should maintain their activity throughout the year. They should enroll among the members all Republican voters, and especially the young men. Proper places for meeting should

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be provided, at which all political questions should be discussed. Through these clubs there should be a conference of ideas, and all opinions upon every national question should be thoroughly ventilated. Thus the people will be informed upon any issue that may come before them, and no convention will be able to throw a platform of disastrous resolutions before the intelligent voters. More than a century ago, Benjamin Franklin, with only five others, composed a club which discussed, and to a large extent determined, the course which was pursued by our continental fathers in the victorious conflict for American Independence. By the action of the Union League Club of Chicago the State of Illinois adopted an honest election law, which places that State, so long as present parties exist, in the Republican column. Their power and influence being clearly shown, the Republican clubs should be so numerous and universal as to take in every active Republican voter. Then there will be no one left to raise the absurd cry against the "machine," which has its effect upon unthinking voters, and in certain localities is detrimental to the success of the party. The campaign of 1888 will be conducted on the theory that politics is the science of human government, and stands next in importance to that science which determines our eternal welfare. It will be demonstrated that the Republican party, with its club organizations, is stronger out of power than it ever was whilst in power.

D. HARRY HAMMER.

CHICAGO, Ill.

The importance of organization for the accomplishment of any great ends in National or State affairs is so apparent, even to the casual observer, that it is only necessary to inquire as to the best manner in which such organization can be effected, to secure the ends in view. In advocating the permanent organization of Republican clubs in the several States, working in harmony under the National League, it is by no means intended to supplant, but rather to supplement, the regular National State and County organizations by and through which the Republican party has heretofore voiced its sentiments, and it is hoped that through its clubs the great underlying principles of the party may be continually kept in view, that through their potent influ-

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ence the younger voters may be taught the "true faith of their fathers," and kept from the political heresies, which have caused so much trouble in the past, which are still a source of danger, and which must be met and overcome in the future. We believe there is a glorious future for the party which safely and securely conducted the country through a quarter of a century of her most eventful history, and which devised and put in motion the vast machinery that has filled her coffers to overflowing; and that the same steady brain and strong arm must be applied to the solution of the greater problems yet before us, conspicuous among which is the one now most pressing, the happy solution of which will make us a nation of producers for the markets of the world, instead of a nation of consumers of foreign products and an absorbent of foreign pauperism. The club will be the school in which the voter may be prepared to discharge intelligently the obligations growing out of his possession of the right of franchise. The great principles of the equality of all men before the law, protection of American industries, preservation of the purity of the ballot, and the cardinal principle, that we are a nation, will thus be held up directly and continually to the rising generation, and through the social features of the clubs the leading minds of the country can and will be brought into contact with each other. The result can only be beneficial in its influence on the party at large. Our efforts will be less spasmodic, and the club will become the nucleus, around which political thought will centre, and from which will radiate light to illumine the pathway of the "Old Party" as she steps proudly forward to the full accomplishment of her great mission.

W. W. JOHNSON.

BALTIMORE, Md., February 4, 1888.

The fact that localities which have been, until quite recently, Republican in sentiment and in majorities, are now as likely to be Democratic as Republican, has led those who are most interested in Republican supremacy, viz., the young men of our party, who have the battles and victories of the future to fight and win, to make careful inquiry into the causes that have produced this changed condition. This inquiry shows that the

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change is due in one section to a revolt against bossism; in another, to carelessness or over-confidence of party managers; in another, to weak nominations, and in others to factional warfare, waged by the so-called great men of the party, and their personal followers, who forget that the Republican party as a political organization is greater, and entitled to more consideration, than any single individual and his supporters within its ranks. The permanent organization of Republican clubs, as outlined by the New York convention, will tend to dethrone the bosses; not that there will not always be leaders in politics: there is need for them, but the National and State leagues, composed of representatives of individual clubs from all over the country, whose sole object is Republican success, need no bosses to indicate to them in what or whose interest work must be done when there is a Republican ticket in the field. The important fact with respect to this scheme of organization in its relation to local, State, and National politics, is that intelligent co-operation is hereby secured. The services of every member of every club can and ought to be actively enlisted in furtherance of one object, and that assuredly is not the election of some "good fellow" on the Democratic ticket. While the constitutions of most of the clubs with which the writer has acquaintance preclude them from naming candidates, yet their pledge to support the party tickets will force their members to attend caucuses and primary elections, which, except in particularly disreputable wards, in a few of our largest cities, can easily be managed by the better element within our party, thereby insuring the nomination of good men to office. If, then, the presence of good men at caucuses and primaries can by this agency be induced, good nominations consequently secured, and active and earnest co-operation had among the members of these organizations, to elect the party nominees, much of the factional strife that has reduced our majorities will cease. There is inspiration in organization; organization in politics means success, to which the magnificent young commonwealth of Nebraska will contribute her share.

RALPH W. BRECKENRIDGE.

OMAHA, Neb.

The movement for the formation of Republican clubs, having in view the promotion of party activity and the improvement of

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party organization, cannot be too strongly commended. Apart from the general and obvious advantages to be secured through these clubs, they can be made an effective agency to appeal to the considerable number of young men in every community who, while naturally in sympathy with the aims and policy of the Republican party, are, at present, for various reasons, indifferent to their political obligations. To secure the active co-operation of this class would insure for our party the vigorous and successful prosecution of the approaching Presidential contest.

NELSON W. ALDRICH.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

The importance of permanent organization of Republican clubs in Maine cannot be overestimated. Fixed club life of any kind is unknown within our borders, outside of the cities of Portland and Bangor. The one great need of the Republican party to-day is thorough discussion of the tariff. The permanent club will occupy to the Republican party the relative position that the Sunday-School does to the Church. It will be the training school, the great volunteer army, the party organization representing the regular army. The club will fill a long-needed want; organized as it is to be, for the purpose of electing the party candidates, and not dictating its nominations, it will not savor of bossism or machine. It will be the rallying point for the enthusiasm of youth and the conservatism of middle age; it will be the means by which and through which the people of the State may become thoroughly educated and instructed on all political questions; it will be the debating club in our long winter evenings for the discussion of Republican principles, and, upon election day, will be the rallying committee, whose duty it will be to see that every Republican elector votes. No party can hope for success without thorough and perfect organization. The club system will do valuable and effective work, which party committees could not hope to perform. It has long been knownthat the regular party committees could not reach a large class of voters; the club can, through its general and popular organization, accomplish this object. The club will not in any way diminish the work or restrict the duties of the party committees, but will supplement and make more thorough party work. The Republicans are a reading and a thinking people, and

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a large class of them do not interest themselves in party contests, unless some great principle is involved. The club will have this field to cultivate in disseminating proper literature upon all economic and political questions, by the circulation of newspapers, the distribution of public speeches, and the encouragement of public discussion; work in the broad field of educating the people on the great questions which should absorb their interest. Our State is especially adapted for its work; reaching cities, towns, and large villages, the club will add to the strength, vigor, power, and increase numerically the Republican party in Maine.

JOSEPH H. MANLEY.

AUGUSTA, Me

The movement for the organization of permanent Republican clubs, National, State, and local, is important, in view of their power to accomplish something for the good of the country, the party, or the members. Clubs so organized will be political schools where principles, methods, and measures can be considered and discussed. They will furnish unequaled facilities for the distribution of political literature, as they will deliver it directly to the individual. The association in club meetings will awaken and stimulate a desire for political information and lead to the collection and exchange of books and periodicals treating of public affairs. Such clubs cannot fail to be beneficial to the party. It is not now, as formerly, bound solidly together by a single great national principle. What was won by the bullet must be maintained by the ballot; but that idea alone will not keep the party intact. Party ties have gradually weakened. These clubs will revive interest, adjust differences, and by the exchange of opinion show the wavering person that while he differs from the party on some points, he can find no other party from which he does not differ more, and he will again act with the party which most nearly represents him. The greatest influence of the clubs, however, will be on the young men just assuming the duties of citizenship. The club opens up the way for them. Realizing that they can take an active part and not be merely passive followers, they will take a lively personal interest in the campaign. They will see that they are recognized as members of a great party made up of individuals like themselves, and that as

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the individual is so will the party be. Such an organization as is contemplated widens the outlook and broadens the sympathy of its members. Personal acquaintance among the adherents of the party in different States will not be confined to prominent politicians, nor will the wants and interests of the party and people of California or Kansas be unknown, or a matter of indifference, to the Republicans of Massachusetts or Connecticut.

J. G. SLONECKER.

TOPEKA, Kansas.

The effort now being made toward the organization of young men's Republican clubs throughout the nation is a move in the right direction, and of great moment to the party. Nothing will better secure harmony, effectiveness, and victory. With but a partial organization in Kentucky, fifty-six out of one hundred and nineteen counties, at the last August election, the Republican vote was increased nearly thirty-eight thousand over that in the Gubernatorial race four years before, and the majority of forty-five thousand reduced to only a little more than sixteen thousand, and this, too, in the face of the bitterest and most determined fight ever made by the Democratic party in the State. With a club of energetic young men in each of the sixty-three counties that had no organization, the State would have gone Republican by a handsome majority. Indeed, the result of that contest has satisfied the most observant and sagacious politicians in Kentucky that a thorough organization will, in the approaching Presidential canvass, bring Kentucky into the Republican column. Without concerted action "one man's business is every man's business," and in such a case, each relying on another, all fail; on the other hand, when all attempt to accomplish what one might readily do, inextricable confusion results. Organization brings discipline, without which no party can reasonably hope to succeed. It causes an interchange and comparison of ideas, thus combining the wisdom of the many against the opinion of the few. Constant discussion begets profound interest, resulting in mental improvement and the acquirement of indispensable political information, while it simultaneously fosters friendly intercourse and inspires a confidence that knows no doubt and entertains no fear. For years many young men inthe South have been driven into the

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Democratic party on account of the failure of the older Republican leaders to turn young enthusiasm to account, also by the taunt of Democracy that the Republican party was a "negro party." Prompt and effective party union, the organization of these young men, and the advice of party leaders would go far toward preventing their desertion of Republican principles. Much, indeed, has already been done in this direction. Through these clubs sound political literature can be most effectively and thoroughly distributed. The policy of protection to American industry and the prospect of national aid to education, which are to-day rapidly revolutionizing politics in the South, can thus be brought to the attention of all, and when this is done tens of thousands of accessions to the Republican ranks are assured. No other organized body promises so nearly to accomplish the results outlined herein as the Young Men's Republican Club, and Republicans everywhere could not engage in a more praiseworthy and patriotic service than that of actively laboring for the prompt enrollment of the bone and sinew—and brains as well—of the party, preparatory to the great battle which shall be surely fought and by them as surely won in 1888.

W. O. BRADLEY.

LANCASTER, Ky.

The Republicans of Iowa feel the need of a more effective mode of permanent organization, and are adopting the club form. In its early years the party did not need organization. It sprang into existence in response to a popular demand, when the American conscience turned in revolt against human slavery, and came with such vigor of infectious courage that it swept forward to its great duties, scarcely needing to organize or to ask for recruits. It was vitalized then with the energy and force of an errand to save the Nation's life, and illuminated itself with such courage of conscience and deeds of daring as made it attractive to all people capable of good sentiment and patriotic purpose. The people came to it, and gave it sufficient strength. As the war has receded, and the issues of a time of conflict and great events have cooled, the party has come forward to peace issues, and has had to learn to rely on its own daily strength of Republican or partisan sentiment, as distinguished from the spontaneous moral

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support it received from all patriotic people when engaged in suppressing treason and healing its wounds. The heroic days are over, and the unheroic days succeed. The war is nearly twenty-five years away. A million first voters, to whom the war is history and not a personal experience, are added to the voting population every four years. They are not swayed by sentimental issues nor the historic grandeur of the Republican party. They turn to the future and want to fight present politics on present issues. They are the life, enthusiasm, and active power of any party. The old State and county committees have proved too cumbrous and slow for quick motion and direct application. Young men love organization which has a social side to it, and can embrace large numbers. The club supplies this, and the more active agency so much needed. It also supplies a means for debate, so popular with the young, affords a reading-room, a place to meet and confer, and creates a social and active centre in politics. It aggregates the enthusiasm and fighting and recruiting power of the party. It is capable of large membership, which the committee is not. It provides a system for maintaining the strength and evenness of settled opinion as to party principles or public issues, as against the sudden change or oftentimes artificial decision of a convention or mass meeting. It is a checkmate and challenge to the growing indifference to politics among the better class of men. It is the means by which the hand of organization and appeal can be laid on the shoulder of every voter, and the right path of good politics and good fellowship pointed out to him.

J. S. CLARKSON.

DES MOINES, Iowa.

The organization of permanent Republican clubs, federated into State and National leagues, is the best working medium yet devised for the advancement of the principles of the party. These federated clubs will create public sentiment, crystallize that sentiment into principles, and will make a knowledge of these principles a common heritage. Young men will catch the enthusiasm of their fellows, and before business and domestic cares have had time to engross their whole life, they will learn that practical every-day politics are a necessity, and that each one of them has

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a vital personal interest in the welfare of his country; and so all will work with the organizations for the success of their party. Permanent Republican clubs, leagued into a great federation, working in a common cause, every organization stimulated by the efforts of every other organization, cannot but raise the plane of partisan politics—*partisan* politics, if you please, for I am one of those who think no other practical—to a higher and broader plane than ever before. The partisan who has heretofore measured everything by the footrule of local prejudice will become imbued with broader and national ideas—will break the bonds of local circumstance and environment, and rise to the full stature of national citizenship.

JNO. A. CALDWELL.

CINCINNATI, O.

Minnesota, prior to 1886, was overwhelmingly Republican. A nomination by a Republican convention was equivalent to election. The first sign of party disorganization appeared in 1886, when the Republican nominee for Governor received but 2,600 plurality, a falling off, when compared with the presidential vote of 1884, of over 40,000. What is the cause of this change? Have the people ceased to be Republican? No. Minnesota, properly organized, is to-day as strongly Republican as ever. Little attempt has been made to encourage thought among the people upon the principles of the party. The party has, to a large extent, been divided into factions, each of which spent its best energies in attempting to control nominations. The voter, who was not interested in this contest, finally became suspicious, then indifferent, and party lines in a great measure disappeared, with the above result. Organization is, therefore, now necessary. The people propose to effect this by means of the permanent Republican Club. It is a people's movement and already promises grand results. During the past month nearly two hundred clubs have been organized, and on the second of February, six hundred delegates, representing these clubs, from every county in the State, met in convention at Minneapolis, and organized a State Republican League upon the plan adopted by the National League. These clubs are to play a very important part in the future politics of the State. In every

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school district clubs are to be organized, not in the interest of any candidate or faction; they are to go beyond the individual, and build their foundations upon principles, not men. They are to be more than an organization of politicians, they are to reach out and embrace the people who do not make a business of politics. They are to be permanently organized for the purpose of promoting good government and become the schools where the voter shall receive his political education. These clubs will be the agencies for the distribution of sound political knowledge among the masses. The principles upon which the party stands shall be there discussed and their soundness tested by the sovereign judgment of the American voter. Every voter will become a student, opinion will follow study, and conviction take the place of indifference. The discussions of these clubs will reach every home in the State. Opinion will become crystallized. The representatives of the people, both in legislature and convention, coming under the influence of these clubs, will bring with them the intelligent opinion of their neighbors, and that opinion will assert itself and appear in the acts of the legislature and the platforms of the conventions.

T. E. BYRNES.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.

The utter disregard for party discipline characteristic of the Republicans of the Pacific slope has been the cause of well-grounded uneasiness. Where the annual crop of Independent voters is as magnificent as any other California production, and where political heresy commands a premium, here is felt most keenly the want of permanent organizations intended not only as factors in approaching campaigns, but as well schools wherein the ideas of Republicanism may be expounded and party discipline favored and furthered.

The late State campaign in California witnessed the creation of a new party. The salient feature in its platform was the restriction of undesirable immigration. Whether the device of the opposition or the expression of a sincere patriotism, the result was that the American party, led by a hitherto pronounced Democrat, polled six thousand votes, chiefly Republican. The Republican candidate for Governor was defeated by less than a thousand

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votes. The restriction of undesirable immigration is an essentially Republican sentiment. Had there been in existence clubs and organizations through which the necessity for a new party advocating this doctrine could have been refuted, whose authority would have given weight to the argument, California's electoral vote would not now be considered doubtful.

Such permanent organizations, composed of the rank and file of the party, would form a tribunal whose decrees measurably would determine matters of policy, and conclude factional differences, to the ultimate benefit of the Republican party in national, State, and municipal affairs. Leaders of cliques would find that their personal ambitions must yield to the larger interests of the party.

To illustrate again: The Republican State Central Committee of California urged by malcontents, in the opening of the late State campaign, usurped the functions of the County Committee of the city of San Francisco, invented cumbersome machinery for primary elections, and organized a Star Chamber court called "The Committee of Ten." An appeal was made to the State Convention, which unhorsed the political guerrillas; but the existing animosities were fanned to a fever heat, and an overwhelming opposition municipal victory resulted. State conventions meet biennially: there is an ever-present necessity for a regulator on this machine of politics; it must be supplied by permanent respectable Republican clubs, which shall control political sentiment and party action.

MORRIS C. BAUM.

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal.

The rapid and increasing formation of Republican clubs and their recent consolidation in a National League are political facts of great interest. To the Republican party this club movement is of especial importance if it is rightly carried on in the spirit in which it has been begun. In a time when public questions are largely social, economical, and administrative, political interest is awakened with much more difficulty than when some abnormally intense moral question, like slavery or secession, stirs popular feeling to its depths. Yet the questions of to-day are very grave in import and far-reaching in their effects. It, therefore, be-

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comes highly important to keep alive with a vigorous vitality political interest and most particularly among the young men. It is impossible to do this properly by means of the regular party machinery and by eleventh hour discussion on the eve of election, when men have become too fixed in their indifference to move. The clubs make political discussion and political association among a large body of voters, whose primary interest is not in politics, permanent instead of spasmodic. They supply a powerful organization for the constant instruction of voters and for the all important work of reaching them and bringing them to the polls. They stimulate enthusiasm and give an opening to young men for the active work for which they are the best fitted, that could not be obtained in any other way. This great movement, as it may now be called since it has assumed such large proportions, is capable of achieving great results. But its success depends, as it seems to me, on the rigid observance of one condition. The work of the clubs must be given to the party and its principles, and to nothing else. The moment the league or any considerable number of the clubs advocate the selection of any particular candidate, whether State or National, their power for usefulness in the only true sense of the word is gone. From a declaration in favor of some individual the descent to the level of a mere personal faction is only too easy. It is not necessary that the clubs should pass any "self-denying ordinance," but it is essential that their leaders and officers should be neither holders nor seekers of political office. The strength of the clubs lies in their disinterested devotion to the party and its principles and policies, and so long as they continue in this way as they have begun, they offer the surest pledge that can be given for the success and the enduring soundness of the Republican party.

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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JUDAS THE ISCARIOT.

To every human consciousness is opened a sense of the two possibilities of our existence—the higher and lower—commonly termed good and evil. Heaven and hell, zenith and nadir of the spiritual universe, are represented in an ethical classification of forms and forces, whose scientific completeness is hidden under the absurdities of mythology. In the ages before science discovered to man his heritage of animalism, from which he can no more be detached than he can "jump off his shadow," the contrast between the sensual and the ideal self was inexplicable by any natural hypothesis. Though primitive philosophy had held that the same tree bore good and evil, religious sentiment interpreted that as meaning the knowledge of good and evil,—these being separated into the Twins, white and dark, found in every theology. In all fable and folklore these white and dark spirits have their respective incarnations, in harmony with observable facts.

There are forces in men which in some primitive phase of society acted organically, but survive in a further phase, where they act inorganically. Their ancient motive or cause being extinct, these inorganic (*i. e.*, anti-social) forces appear diabolic—evil for evil's sake. Hence the notion of incarnate fiends. Incarnation is no mystery. By purposed selection man breeds in a bulldog an exaltation of ferocity only ideal in himself; that thoroughbred brute will hate without motive, and cannot be drawn from the improvised foe by torture; he will often die rather than let go, a martyr of self-sacrificing ferocity. This creation by man of an evil genius outside the normal self-preserving instincts, is paralleled in survivals of brute craft, cruelty, and lust, in the human shape, thereby invested with a refined apparatus for evil unknown to any animal. This evolved inhumanity, personified as the Adversary of God, has in every age been seen in evil in-

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carnations confronting the incarnation of God. Thus side by side appear Jesus and Judas. While looking on the Oberammergau Passion Play I thought Judas the most phenomenal of the figures. By a local survival of the fittest for this all-absorbing enterprise of the region the sacred pictures of church walls are made flesh. Judas' face is his fortune. His make-up is from the diabolic wardrobe of ages. I found him personally a gentle and pious man. Could we meet the original Judas a like respect might ensue. But he has been conventionalized by centuries. The Beloved Disciple is reported as almost seeing Satan enter Judas during the Last Supper, and it is artistically added, he "went out, and it was night." This "night" was easily spiritualized, and a later writer knows that "Judas fell away, that he might go to his own place." Thus Judas was made the infranatural counterpart of a supernatural divinity. Judas's gratuitous villainies were easily explained as mysteries of preordained diabolic purpose; doubts as to whether Christ would have chosen such a disciple, or intrusted him with the common purse, leading him into temptation—were silenced by reference to the incomprehensibility of divine counsels. In the apocryphal "Gospel of the Infancy," it is related that a demoniacal boy, brought to the child Jesus, strikes him, whereupon Jesus weeps, and Satan comes out of the boy in the form of a furious dog. This boy was Judas. According to another legend, Judas's mother had a dream before his birth that her son would murder his father and sell his God. To avert this the child was sunk in the sea, but was cast on shore. He was adopted by a king and queen, who had a son, whom Judas slew. He fled to Judea, became the page of Pilate, and, after the predestined murder of his father, learned from his mother her dream. In terror and contrition Judas hears of a prophet who forgives sins; when he throws himself at his feet, Jesus, recognizing his predestined betrayer, accepts him as a disciple, and intrusts him with the purse so that Judas's avarice might be excited and the plan of salvation not fail. Judas thus became Heir Apparent to the infernal throne, and in mural pictures of Eastern churches he appears seated on the knees of a majestic Satan. But in western Christendom the idea long prevailed that Jesus was moving invisibly about the world, keeping his eye on every movement of mankind

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until the day when he should judge them; Judas appears to have been resuscitated in some regions for a counter-wandering, but the exigencies of Roman Christianity demanded a less localized and less penitent devil. Thus Judas was superseded by Antichrist, and his story became threaded on the continuous line of undying wanderers. Since writing my monograph on "The Wandering Jew," I have found reason to suspect that the eternal wanderer of our European legend, Ahasuerus, derives his reputation of having been a shoemaker, who struck Jesus with a last, from a popular derivation of the word "Iscariot" from Hebrew *scortea*, "a leathern apron."*

Disraeli's championship of Judas, as a self-sacrificing disciple willing to be accursed through all time in order to complete conditions necessary for human salvation, remains a monument of his audacity and Christianized cynicism. His remorseless logic, however, has long been felt. Various theories have sought to vindicate the divine purity from the appearance of having prearranged and required such baseness and treason for its ends. These are signs of the advancing ethical spirit which is humanizing Christianity. The enthroned Christ seems to be laying aside the crown once more, and becoming a plain workman. His human life, sympathy, radicalism, are dwelt on. As Jesus has been reinvested with humanity, so may the diabolized figure of Judas; the same humanity includes him and the Teacher he is said to have betrayed. An artist once painted a lovely child

*Possibly this leathern apron suggested as its holy counterpoise the apron of St. Veronica, which retained the portrait of Jesus when she wiped his brow, just after Ahasuerus had struck him on his way to Calvary. Goethe recognized the poetic value of this subject, and designed a poem in which the shoemaker Ahasuerus is a sort of Socratic Hans Sachs, at whose shop Pharisees and Sadducees, and Jesus with his disciples, would often stop. Being interested only in the world, Ahasuerus yet loves Jesus and tries to persuade him to stop going about with idlers, and drawing people away from their work. Jesus tries to inspire him with his own aims. After the condemnation of Jesus, Judas rushes into the shop of Ahasuerus in great distress; he relates that being fully convinced that Jesus would declare himself regent, he had incited the priesthood to an arrest for which they had not courage. He says that the disciples were all armed and all would have gone well had not the Lord given himself up. Judas goes off and hangs himself. Ahasuerus, as the sufferer passes, vehemently reproaches him for his folly, when Veronica covers the fainting man's face, and on her apron Ahasuerus beholds the features not of the sufferer of the moment, but of the same transfigured. He hears the words, "Over the earth shalt thou wander till thou once more see me in this form." (Dichtung und Wahrheit, xv.)

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as an infant Jesus. Twenty years later, having to paint the Last Supper, he found a model for his Judas in an imprisoned murderer. As he scrutinized the face of his Judas it grew familiar, and he ultimately found that his Jesus and Judas represented the childhood and the manhood of the same person.

It is a notable fact that, while there have been historic doubts as to the existence of Jesus, few have questioned that of Judas: so pessimist is the world! Those who resolve Christ into a solar myth might find much support in the burials of Judas as "Winter" in some remote parts of Europe, and the Good Friday scourgings of his effigy in Spanish countries. Although there is in the case suggestion of an onomatopoetic myth, "Judas," being the Greek form of "Judah," a possible personification of the Jewish race betraying their Messiah to the Roman, yet in a fragment of the lost Aramaic Gospel there is mention of "Judas the Iscariot." This supplies a strong probability of the existence of a disciple so called. But personally he seems lost in a labyrinth of contradictions. He is said, in the fourth Gospel, to have been the purse-bearer of Jesus and the Twelve, also to have taken money from the bag dishonestly—statements unsupported by the other Gospels. If Judas had such a good position for the exercise of thievish industry, would he have terminated it for twenty dollars? Matthew alone mentions the amount of the bribe, with suspicious exactitude, one hardly sufficient to purchase a cemetery for strangers, as others state. Matthew and Mark say Judas kissed Jesus; Luke says he approached for that purpose; John says nothing about a kiss, but represents Jesus as hastening to surrender himself to the soldiers, among whom was Judas. As to the end of Judas, it is variously stated that he hanged himself; that he bought a field and fell down dead in it; that he threw down the money before those who had bribed him. To those unable to harmonize these things by an act of faith, the following considerations may be of interest.

The title of Judas "the Iscariot" has from earliest times been variously explained. There are six theories of the word (1) From Kartan, in Galilee (Josh. xxi. 32). (2) From Greek *kariotides*, date-trees. (3) Iscariot has been derived from Hebrew *scortea*, a leathern apron, as already stated; "Judas with the apron" was applied to him as bearer of the bag or scrip.

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Lightfoot, on the authority of Rabbi Nathan, describes the scrip as "a kind of [leather] apron with divers purses or pockets made in it." As Jesus forbade the disciples to carry purse or scrip, Judas, if he did so, must have been an official exception; but is it not more probable that his alleged office, unknown to the earlier evangelists, is a legend grown out of this derivation of Iscariot from *scortea?* (4) Iscariot has been derived from Hebrew *ascara*, "strangling." Is this etymology the real basis of the death by hanging? (5) Iscariot has been supposed equivalent to Issacharite. The transliteration of the usual Hebrew of Issachar is *Yissâsekâr*. One need only search accounts of Issachar to find suggestions of the Iscariot legend. Issachar means "he takes up his wages." (Gen. xxx. 18.) "And Leah said, God hath given me my hire, because I gave my bondmaid to my husband: and she called his name Issachar." The significance of the name labeled the tribe (Gen. xlix. 14).

> "Issachar is a bony ass
> Couching between two sheepfolds:
> He saw rest, that it was good,
> And the land that it was pleasant:
> He bowed his shoulder to bear
> And became a tributary of labor."

Issachar, legendary offspring of a hired husband, might readily be recalled by a name so near his own as Iscariot, who in turn would have to bow his shoulder to bear the Issacharite legend. Iscariot couches between the Judaic and Christian sheepfolds; desires the inner rest, but also the land (bought with his bribe); becomes a slave unto tribute.

(6) It is now generally agreed among Christian scholars that Iscariot is from Heb. *Ish K'rioth*, "man of K'rioth," a town in the south of Judah. Learned Jews, however, says Iscariot means "of the tribe of Issachar." In this case the legend that Judas became the slave of hire, and bought land, is mere mythopœic growth from an innocent tribal distinction. If the epithet means "man of Kerioth," all the other derivations are fictitious, mere similarities of sound. The legends that Judas was a purse-bearer, that he couched between two parties, bought land, took up his wages, and was strangled, may all have come out of unconscious puns on the word Iscariot!

As to the origin of other details of the story the candor of

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Matthew has not left us ignorant. In anticipation of a doubt that the police of Jerusalem could hardly have needed to bribe any disciple to point out a notorious public teacher, Luke and John suggest that the authorities were afraid of the people, and paid Judas to guide them to a secret retreat; but Matthew finds his adequate explanation of all anomalies in the necessity that prophesies should be fulfilled. This writer even seems to explain the matter to Jesus, who says, "I sat daily in the temple teaching, and ye took me not." But, adds Matthew, "all this is come to pass that the scriptures of the prophets might be fulfilled." The very words ascribed to Jesus, "He that dipped his hand with me in the dish, the same shall betray me. The Son of Man goeth as it is written," etc., point with precision to Psalm xl., where it is written, "Yea, mine own familiar friend, in whom I trusted, which did eat of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me." There is here a foregone necessity of treachery on the part of a disciple, and of one who partook of the Last Supper. And that no sign of the expected Messiah should be unfulfilled, the thirty pieces are introduced: "Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremiah the prophet, saying, 'And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was priced,'" etc. The passage is in Zachariah, not Jeremiah, and no straining can make it refer to the Messiah.

It will thus be seen that every item in the confused legend of Judas is mythical. There is left only a probability that some action on Judas's part caused these sinister significances to be given to his innocent title, Iscariot. What that action was cannot be ascertained, but withdrawal of the Iscariot-mythology leaves untouched a few points of interest. There is nothing improbable in the assertion that Judas protested against Mary's waste on Jesus's feet of costly ointment that might have been sold for the poor. He may have given voice to the "indignation" of other disciples. This would show Judas as a rather hard type of radical, no doubt; were he in New York he would protest against building a six-million cathedral amid suffering thousands. It is the misfortune of such men that they are not always able to except from their humane secularism the value of a sentiment such as that which filled not only the house of Simon, but the Christian world with the perfume shed by Mary on the weary feet of Jesus. Mary's kisses on those feet may possibly have suggested the tra-

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dition of her reprover's treacherous kisses. Nevertheless, Judas may have so greeted Jesus at the time of his arrest. The 'hail Master' and the kiss may have been genuine. He might so have initiated a predicted crisis. Jesus had kindled high hopes among these humble and oppressed Jews; nor were his plans peaceful. "Ye which have followed Me, shall sit upon twelve thrones." "I came not to send peace, but a sword." "He that hath none, let him sell his cloak and buy a sword." "They said, Lord, here are two swords, and he said, it is enough." That, in the revolution to which these and other sayings pointed, the Messiah might be slain, was an idea no Jew could conceive, even had Jesus not declared that no man could take his life. The disciples had shown impatience, and asked "When shall these things be?" Jesus had assured them "This generation shall not pass away till all these things be accomplished." Perhaps Judas, with the fanatical faith of John Brown, challenged a collision with enormous odds, never doubting that twelve legions of angels would appear if necessary. He may have led the soldiers to the retreat beyond Cedron. Several of the disciples were armed, and may have shared Judas's hopes. Indeed, John will not admit that either Judas or the soldiers had any power over Jesus: the Lord advanced and said, 'I am He,' and the officials all went backward and fell to the ground. But the disciples were in dismay. The theory of treachery is hardly consistent with the subsequent action attributed to Judas, so far as this has not been shown mythical. Where he had looked to see a triumphant Messiah, he saw now an innocent man—a beloved friend and teacher—led away under arrest to probable execution. "When he saw what he had done," so terribly in contrast to his expectation, he repented of his impatient action. He had taken the metaphors of Jesus too literally; his imagination was not equal to all eventualities; but all the more can such take to heart the thing seen and realized. When the rest of the disciples "forsook him and fled," when Peter denied him with oaths, Judas alone seems to have confronted the chief priests and elders and testified to the innocence of Jesus.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

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THE PRESIDENT'S PUZZLE: THE SURPLUS.

WHAT a magnificent example the Republic was setting to the nations only three months ago! How changed all is to-day.

Her enemies were grievously disappointed when she proved that she could and would fight in the defense of the Union. That fact having been settled, their hope and prediction then was that the vast armies that had been created would remain a menace to the civil power; that danger being averted, there remained for them but the consolation that she must fail to stand the supreme test of popular government. True, Democracy had fought; but, said they, it would never pay. The debts incurred in a period of enthusiasm would certainly be repudiated. The Republic set about dispelling this last aspersion, and nothing in her history has ever created such profound impression abroad as the manner in which she has from month to month reduced the vast load of debt with which she was burdened at the end of her struggle for national existence. What the capitalist of the world now thinks of "the government of the people, for the people, and by the people"—and the capitalist is the shrewdest and most calculating of men—is found in this fact, that the public debt of the United States ranks the highest in the world. From her great motherland, hitherto the first in public credit, she has wrested the golden round of sovereignty. The consols of Great Britain, perpetual in duration, rank second in the estimation of the world to the bonds of the Republic, which are redeemable in a few years. Consols of the Republic—a government of the people—similar to those of Great Britain, would rank much higher than those of the monarchy, the government of a class.

I shall never forget when a Cabinet Minister of Great Britain, of the first rank, asked me if there was not grave danger to the existence of Republican institutions when the dispute between

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Tilden and Hayes arose, in regard to the Presidency. I said to him, "Have you noticed what American three per cents are this morning?" "No," he said, "What are they?" "Higher than yours," was the reply. There ensued a silence that could be felt. The American citizen, traveling abroad, as he picked up a newspaper in the café which told him that the debt of his country had been reduced during the previous month ten millions of dollars, looked around that café with the air of a man that belonged to something. He called his English, German, Italian, or French acquaintance to his side, pointed to the paper, and said, "Yes, that is how *we* do it; the country we fought for we are paying for. And we mean to keep on paying until our Republic has not a dollar of debt."

Every statesman, every financier in Europe received new light in regard to this Republic, its people and its doings, from this unique monthly bulletin. The word "American" means more, fills the breast fuller, and rolls more roundly from the tongue, since America presented to the world the spectacle of a nation wiping off its debt every month by millions. One of the hopes in which I have often indulged is that one day I should stand in Washington and see the last obligation of the Republic burned amid public rejoicings. All this was possible, probable, three months ago. What has arrested this triumphal march and relegated our country to the position of the debt-ridden governments of Europe? We have no more monthly bulletins showing payment of debt.

One would imagine that to arrest a great nation in such a glorious career there must be a lion, indeed, in the path. But there is no lion, it is a very small mouse which has done this mischief. A Secretary of the Treasury, new to his functions, expresses a doubt whether he has power to purchase bonds with the surplus revenues. That is the whole of it. He admits that he has the power to purchase bonds for the sinking fund; but he doubts whether he has the power to purchase bonds for redemption. A former Secretary of the Treasury points out to him that his power is undoubted to do both. But assuming that the present Secretary of the Treasury is correct, a word from the President, or from him, to Congress, and a bill giving explicit power would be the result in a few days and all difficulty would vanish, and the Republic would continue its declared policy of wiping out the

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debt and begin again to astonish the world with its monthly bulletins.

What would the purchase of bonds involve? Only the payment of a small premium above their face, for two years, when the remainder of the two hundred and thirty millions mature and could be purchased at par. This premium would be a decreasing one from month to month, as the interval between the purchase and the right to cancel at par lessened, and it would only be paying their value. But instead of asking for this authority the Secretary of the Treasury gives away to banks, free of interest, the surplus revenues of the nation. The loss upon this operation, if continued, will not be less, if any, than that which would be incurred in the purchase of bonds above par; while the doubt and uncertainty surrounding the future action of the Secretary in regard to these loans, hanging over us like a cloud threatening to burst at any moment, will cost the country far more than any possible premium, and may involve it in commercial disaster.

We hear much of a surplus; but how can there be a surplus when we have a thousand million of dollars of debt outstanding? When we have paid off that debt, and not until then, can there be any true surplus whatever. The reduction of taxation, internal or external, will then be in order, but not till then. This country has now a golden opportunity; never was it so prosperous, never did it accumulate wealth so fast; the load of taxation which it has is as a feather weight upon its back. India has not yet completed its railway system, nor has Russia introduced improved methods of handling and transportation; the markets of the Old World for her produce, cotton, and petroleum lie open to her almost unchallenged. It is not possible for the most sanguine to anticipate a period during which the Republic will be more prosperous than the present, while it is altogether likely that in the future she is to encounter more strenuous competition. The true policy, therefore, is to continue paying off the debt as rapidly as the revenues from present taxation will allow. Never was there a situation in which the Earl of Aberdeen's advice is more appropriate than now, in regard to taxation. After his cabinet had discussed various means of solving a supposed problem, which, like the surplus, had only an imaginary existence, he asked, "why could we not let it alone?" And that proved the true solution of the difficulty; it is so now with us. Why can't we let it alone?

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There are several anomalies in the present tariff; some mistakes that need correction; some changes in administration which experience has shown to be necessary. The bill offered by our admirable Mayor, Mr. Hewitt, in a recent Congress, ought by all means to be passed. But the nation having adjusted itself to existing conditions, the present taxation should not be disturbed so long as there is a dollar of debt to pay, and until the Republic stands before the world the only civilized government not handicapped by debt. Democracy has given the world many lessons. Its patriotic citizens should insist upon giving it another.

If, however, the present situation must be changed, if the Republic is not to go forward paying off the debt to reach the unique position pictured for her, then undoubtedly there will be a surplus to deal with. And the question is, how can a surplus be prevented? The President proposes to avoid a surplus by reducing the duties upon imports, a policy which is certain to increase it. Into the merits of protection and free trade it is here unnecessary to enter, because all but the most violent advocates of a tariff for revenue only, agree that having built up a large manufacturing nation—the largest on earth—under a system of protection, changes must be carefully made; so carefully made that the fabric shall not be seriously injured during transition. Such is the President's position. He says, substantially, that great care must be taken not to injure the manufactures of the country: a reduction must be made, but it must be such as manufacturers can stand; to which they can readily adjust themselves; something not too radical, an easy step, and then only when another step can be safely taken in this direction, it can be made. He desires no sudden shock to the present system, but soberly, judiciously, to bring it nearer and nearer to new conditions which, he thinks, would be more beneficial to the country. Well, let us see—ten per cent. reduction upon anything at one step is a pretty strong pull; a reduction in the President's vote of a fraction of one per cent. might have rendered this article unnecessary. But suppose that a reduction in duties to the extent of ten per cent. were decided upon, and surely no one with a due regard for existing conditions would propose to do more at one time—certainly the President would not, if true to his declared wish to proceed prudently—how would this reduction affect the surplus?

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In 1886 we collected from imports one hundred and eighty-eight millions of dollars, but fifteen millions of this was from silks, five millions from foreign wines, liquors, etc., and about as much more from various articles of similar class, the duties upon which no one would think it wise to reduce. This leaves say one hundred and fifty millions of duties collected upon articles which enter into general consumption, and even this includes fifty-one millions collected from the material out of which we manufacture sugar, and which it is proposed to deal with separately. If this be deducted, then we have left one hundred millions of manufactured articles upon which a general tariff bill could act.

A reduction which averaged ten per cent. would reduce the revenue then ten millions of dollars, and if sugar be embraced in the same bill, fifteen millions—upon an equal amount of foreign articles imported; but what about the increased amount of foreign articles which the lower duties would enable the foreigner to substitute for articles which American manufacturers had hitherto been able to supply owing to the higher duties upon the foreign? Every one knows that reduced duties mean greater importations. It is to give the foreigner a better position in our markets that duties upon his products are lowered.

The first year's revenues from importations under a ten per cent. reduction would be greater in amount than before. Make the reduction average twenty per cent., and so complete will be the control of the foreigner over many branches of domestic manufacture which have a struggle even under present duties to hold their share of the trade in competition with foreign goods, that the *aggregate* sum collected from importations would probably equal, if it did not exceed, that flowing from a ten per cent. reduction, but five, ten, fifteen, or twenty per cent. reduction, the President's puzzle is again upon him—the veritable devil's ducat of which he cannot get rid—of which at least it is certain he never will get rid upon his plan.

The country may be in favor of reducing its debt at a slower pace than heretofore, which I do not believe. It may wish less money collected from taxation than at present, which I do not believe it is troubling itself much about. It may desire that a greater proportion of foreign manufactures shall be used than at present, which I do most emphatically disbelieve; but one hope it cannot entertain for a moment, and that is, that by following the Presi-

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dent's advice and reducing duties upon imports, the aggregate sum received from importations will be lessened and the surplus thereby reduced.

It is true that it has been proposed to place four articles upon the free list which yield from twelve to fifteen millions of dollars per annum. These are called raw materials, but no one has yet been able to define what a raw material is. To the mining company that produces iron ore upon the shores of Lake Superior, and transports it for a thousand miles in its own vessels, and sells at the furnace for seven dollars per ton what was worth a few cents in the mine, iron ore is the finished product. There is not anything raw about it. A hundred and fifty millions of capital are invested, and many thousands of men are employed in the business, and so it is in the mining of coal. It is very certain that Congress will not admit iron ore free of duty, for so overpowering were the facts laid before the last Congressional Committee that investigated the subject, that when a general reduction of duties was made, so far from the duty upon iron ore being reduced with other articles, the duty was actually increased fifty per cent. Spanish labor in the mines, fifty cents per day, and labor in the mines of Lake Superior, two dollars per day, with cost of transport less from Spain to seaboard furnaces than from Lake Superior to furnaces in Ohio and Pennsylvania, settled the question of free ore as it will settle the question of free coal. An effort to abolish all duties upon these so-called raw materials must fail. As long as incidental protection is given to home industries on account of the greater cost of labor here, so long must industries which have been developed by this policy share in this advantage. It would be neither just nor politic to treat them differently from other industries.

If the so-called surplus—which is no surplus, but is only caused by a failure to use our funds to pay our debts—if this surplus be such a nightmare, and it is necessary for the Nation's peace to get rid of it in some other way than for the payment of debt, and if the President is bound to use foreign imports as the means to prevent a surplus, there is only one key for the puzzle, these reductions must be so radical as to paralyze the manufacturing system and bring upon the country a period of misfortune which has not been equaled more than once or twice in its history—or he must raise the duties sufficiently to lessen importa-

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tions. He places himself upon record as not in favor of the former action. He is probably still less disposed to adopt the alternative. Yet he cannot affect the surplus through imports except by one course or the other, for nothing is surer than that any moderate reduction of duties will not reduce, but will swell the surplus.

The President's puzzle is not to be thus solved. No, no, Mr. President, people don't stop overflows by lowering the sluices. Those that favor this never want the overflow lessened, and as men have died and worms have eaten them, but not one of them for love, so also many men have wished the duties upon imports reduced, but not one of them for the reason you assign—to reduce the surplus. It was lonely around the camp fire one night in the wild West until one of the company proposed that they should all tell their real names. Matters became lively enough at once. Let those gentlemen masquerading about, disguised as surplus reducers, tell us what they mean when they advocate a policy certain to increase revenues. Give us your *real names*, gentlemen! And you, Mr. Surplus Reduction President, suppose you begin?

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

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REASONING POWER OF ANIMALS.

Miss Kitty is a favorite member of our family and she is possessed of so many graces and virtues that I am glad to bear witness to her worth in a brief biography. She is an humble creature, but she lives up to the highest capabilities of her nature, and a careful study of her ways has convinced me that the "god-like reason," of which we assume a monopoly, does not go altogether upon two legs, but is shared, in a greater or less degree, by our four-footed companions.

When she came to us at first Kitty was a little waif, timid and shy, and scarcely four weeks old, and her terrified look, as she crept out from underneath the veranda of our country house, told plainly that she was conscious of having come into a world where cats got far more kicks than caresses. This was but natural, for only the day before she had seen her mother slaughtered by a brute of a boy, and had herself escaped merely because she was too young to render her peltry of any value. We gave her food and spoke kindly to her; but it was days before we could lure her into the house, or induce her to accept our caresses. She would start at the slightest sound, and she wore a look of constant fright, as if the tragedy of her mother's death was continually before her. Gradually, however, the terrible vision seemed to fade from her memory and she became very playful and affectionate. She would climb upon our laps and our shoulders, and, putting her soft cheek to ours, would caress us most fondly. Her favorite station during the day was on my writing table, where she was accustomed to curl herself up and, when awake, to watch the movement of my pen as it glided over the paper. She did not appear to understand this at first, but she very deliberately proceeded to investigate the phenomenon. After watching it one day for a time, she reached out her paw and touched the penholder. I kept on writing, and this, I suppose, gave her confidence, for when her paw had followed my hand once or twice across the

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sheet, she clutched the pen herself, and attempted to go on with the writing. The result was a huge blot upon the MS, at which Kitty gazed aghast for a few moments; then, giving me a sad look and uttering a plaintive wail, she again seated herself near by and looked on in silence. Daily she came upon my table and watched my proceedings, but never again did she volunteer to aid me in the work of composition.

Thinking to arouse Kitty's artistic sense, I one day placed before her a book filled with engravings of animals. She regarded the strange creatures for a while with some interest; but when I turned the page to one of the cat kind, she gave her head a peculiar toss, by which she expresses contempt or disapprobation, and silently walked away, thus plainly intimating that she could distinguish between the sham and the real. Her strongest admiration was for her beautiful self, and she was, and is, the perfection of feline beauty. She has a full, shapely head, a rounded, graceful form, large, dark, speaking eyes, and a clear black and white coat, as soft and glossy as silk. While still so very young, she never tired of gazing at herself in a glass. One day I set a small toilet mirror upon the floor, so that she could see her reflected image. She gazed unconcernedly upon it for a few moments, but as soon as she observed that the kitten in the glass responded to her every movement she opened her eyes wide with astonishment. Then, looking up at me inquiringly, she proceeded to investigate the toilet glass, walking round and round it, and now and then tapping its wooden back with her paw. When she had apparently become convinced that it did not conceal her own counterpart, she again set herself down before it and began to smooth her coat, and stroke her whiskers, all the while keeping one eye fixed upon the reflected kitten which was performing the same ceremonies. At last she fell asleep, and I set the glass away upon an upper shelf in my library; but she no sooner awoke than she came to me, looked up at the mirror, and by a pleading mew asked me to place it again upon the floor. This I did day after day to the great delight of Miss Kitty, who would sit before it for an hour at a stretch, prinking and pruning herself like any human coquette. One day, having a visitor, I failed to respond as promptly as usual to her request for the glass and she suddenly darted into an adjoining room, where, half an hour later, I found her perched upon the top of a bureau,

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and surveying herself in the larger glass that hung above it. She had detected the likeness between the two mirrors. After that she never petitioned me for the toilet glass, for one of her commendable traits is never to ask of another what she can do for herself. But even now, in mature cathood, she exhibits this feminine vanity. Often I come upon her posed before a mirror, and I think no four-footed creature ever assumed quite so many airs as she did a little time ago, when she first saw upon her neck the reflection of a gorgeous leather collar.

Until Kitty was about three months old we considered her too young to profit much by instruction, but then my wife set about giving her a little cat education. She had no difficulty in teaching her to ask for her dinner by a rub against the table leg, and to respond by a wag of the tail to almost any simple question. Very soon the questions "Do you love me?" and "Are you a good little Kitty?" were uniformly answered by an energetic wave of her caudal appendage. Her wants from the first she spontaneously made known by a pull at my wife's dress, or by a peculiar mew which has a wonderful likeness to human speech. From her first domestication she has slept in our chamber, and if now and then shut out of the house when it was locked up for the night, she would climb upon the veranda which runs along the front of our summer residence and tap upon our window for admission. Sometimes she did this at midnight, and we, being fast asleep, would fail to respond very promptly to her summons. In this event she would, on being let in, stamp her foot upon the floor and scold away at us for fully five minutes in a peculiar tone, a kind of mutter that was both rapid and decided.

Among other things which my wife at this time taught the feline lady was to turn somersaults upon the floor, to play at hide-and-go-seek, and to run in a hurdle race around a large room. This last used to come off in the library, the hurdles being piles of books placed at irregular intervals, and Kitty vaulting over them in a race around the apartment. At first she was lured into this performance by a string drawn rapidly across the book-piles, but soon my wife was able to omit this incitement and get Kitty into the race by merely giving her the word at starting. She enjoyed the performance greatly, and invariably asked for it every evening after supper, until she became a mother and engrossed in the duties of maternity.

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She was about a year old when this happened, and it has seemed to develop her nature wonderfully. Ever since, she has given clear and striking proofs of that ability to combine means with ends, and that power of deducing one result from another, which we term reason. Her memory also has grown remarkably clear and strong, as a little incident will illustrate. Some ladies whom she had not seen for all of a year, called upon us one day during last summer, and she at once greeted them with every sign of recognition. The hurdle-races had been for a long time discontinued, but on our visitors expressing a desire to again witness the performance, we ranged the books around the room, and, my wife giving the word, Kitty at once vaulted over them with all her old agility. She had made two or three circuits of the apartment when she suddenly paused as if a new idea had just struck her. Her four kittens, now about four months old, were in the room, and they had paused in their play to witness the performance; and now Kitty called them to her, and addressed them in an energetic manner. At first they did not seem to comprehend what she wanted, but, taking her idea, my wife produced a string, and calling, "Little Kitties," proceeded to draw it across the books in the old manner. Instantly the kittens were after the string, and Kitty was after the kittens, going round the room in flying leaps, and urging them forward with cries of encouragement. Once in a while one of the little fellows would dodge the books, or fall out of line, and then his mother would pause in her flight, and cuffing his ears, force him again into the race. Soon my wife withdrew the string, and then they went on without it—five cats chasing one another in a hurdle-race around the room, while we and our guests were shouting with laughter. Often afterward the performance was repeated, and always at its close both the cats and the kittens would come to us for some mark of our approval.

Kitty has exhibited in a high degree the wonderful instinct which guides the cat in training her young, but she has also shown in their education an adaptation of means to ends which, with neither cats nor men, is instinctive. For instance, she would bring live mice and squirrels into the kitchen, and, setting them free, would set her kittens to hunting the creatures. This was instinct, but reason came in when the mouse or the squirrel got away, and hid behind some article of furniture, where neither

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cat nor kittens could get at it. Then Kitty would ask my wife or the servant to remove the article; but if it happened to be too heavy for a woman's strength—and it usually was a large cupboard—she would come directly to my "den" in a remote part of the house, and insist upon my going at once to the rescue.

As they grew older Kitty's progeny took to climbing, and occasionally one of them would push himself upon an upper branch of some tall tree, whence it dared not come down, and where Kitty knew she could not venture her own weight in safety. On such occasions she would rush into the house and appeal to my wife, who would call our farmer's boy, and send him up the tree to rescue the endangered kitten. Once on a time, my wife could not be found, and after searching for her in vain, Kitty went herself to the barn, called the boy, and led him to the tree up which was the venturesome kitten. The little fellows thought it rare fun to hide away in the near-by woods where their mother could not find them. To her cries for them at such times they would pay no sort of attention; but they never heard my wife call, "Little Kitties—come home, Little Kitties," but they came trooping towards the house as fast as their little legs could carry them. Observing this, Kitty never failed to ask her aid in such circumstances. On one occasion all four of the kittens had disappeared, and the cat and her mistress had for a considerable time searched for them without success in the neighboring bushes and undergrowth, when suddenly Kitty sprang up a tall pine to its very top, whence she could see all the surrounding woods. In a few moments she was down again, and then making to my wife a peculiar gesture of the head by which she indicates that she desires to be followed, she led her to a considerable distance in a direction never before taken by the kittens, and there, perched upon the top rail of the farm fence, were the four runaways.

Upon another occasion, when the servant was absent from the kitchen and my wife was upstairs in the most remote part of the house, Kitty came bounding up to her, with an urgent demand to be followed. She led her directly to the kitchen, and there was a strange man who had no business on the premises. A like intelligence Kitty showed one dark and stormy night, when we had inadvertently gone to bed leaving her out of doors. About midnight she came to my wife's bed, woke her up and beckoned her to follow. She led her down to the dining-room, where the glass

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door, leading out upon the veranda, stood wide open. Observing this, she had entered by that way, instead of coming, as usual, to our chamber window, and, knowing that the door should not be left open, she gave my wife this notice before retiring to her nightly quarters. And this reminds me that though Kitty often makes demands upon me in the daytime, she never wakes me at night, however great may seem to her the emergency, and this she does without having had the least instruction on the subject. Making not the slightest noise, she comes to my wife's side and rouses her by springing lightly upon the bed and gently stroking her face, but she lets me rest in quiet. She has the good sense to know that a man who works with brain or hand all day should be left at night to enjoy unbroken slumber. I could relate numerous instances similar to the foregoing, but I have now space for only a sad catastrophe that befell Kitty and her little family.

The four kittens had grown to be nearly as large as their mother, when Kitty had another litter—three little fellows. Soon afterwards a distemper appeared which swept away nearly all the cats in the neighborhood, and one after another it carried off the four kittens. They were taken at first with a strange drowsiness, then, after moping about for a short while, they went off into the woods to die. This had happened to all the four, when Kitty was herself taken with the distemper. Her younger kittens were below stairs, and the first intimation that we had that she was seized with the malady was the discovery that she had carried the little fellows up to our chamber, and deposited them in the drawer of a bureau which happened to be open. We had been fearful of this, and only the day before had asked medical advice against such an emergency; and now, with the medicines in our hands, we hastened to the woods, where we knew she had secreted herself. After a long search we found her hidden away in some undergrowth, in a comatose condition, and scarcely conscious, but still able to give a slight wag of the tail when her mistress asked, "Are you a good little Kitty?" We then gave her the proper remedies, and bore her back to the house, where she was given every possible attention. By constant care we managed to keep the breath of life in her body; but she refused all food, and for fully ten days lay in a lethargic condition. Meanwhile her kittens had to be drowned, for they were too young to take any nourishment except from their mother. At last she came to her-

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self, and then the first thing she did was to go up to the bureau where she had deposited her kittens, and the look of distress that came upon her face when she discovered they were gone was almost human. She mourned for them for many days, and she would not be comforted.

After this event Kitty would scarcely let her mistress go out of her sight. Ever since, she has clung to her with a strange tenacity, and day by day has shown for her a constantly growing affection that is most remarkable. It was on this account, that we this autumn brought her with us when we moved into our winter home, instead of leaving her, as heretofore, with the farmer at our summer residence. She has adapted herself to her new home, and to the change from country to city life, with a readiness that entirely disproves the common opinion that cats are more attached to places than to persons.

EDMUND KIRKE.

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"THE TWO MESSAGES."

AFTER our civil war was over, Time had to heal many wounds before that struggle and the reconstruction which followed it would give the Congressional right of way to the discussion of other issues. During that period of convalescence the decadence of American shipping was brought forward for consideration in the Federal Senate, and the debate thereupon soon ran backward into war time, and the Confederate privateers were hotly indicted for the high crime of driving the American flag from the sea.

To this convenient, though unreasonable reason, Senator Grimes, Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, responded: "Confederate piracy did not destroy our merchant marine. The privateers who have sunk the second commercial navy of the world sit around me in this Senate. The means they have used may be found in that protective policy which deserves to be called a 'war measure,' since it has wrought in our shipping such destruction as no enemy has ever inflicted, but the worst enemy would desire." The author of "Two Messages" in the January REVIEW recalls to me these living words of the dead statesman by this introductory passage: "Pulses beat more quickly, the joy of battle lights up manly faces, and it is a dramatic moment when the vessel, chased as a merchantman, opens her hatches for her devilish crew to swarm on deck, drops the seeming stripe, and discloses shotted guns and runs up the black flag. Freebooter and free trader have much in common."

Yes, indeed, it is a dramatic moment when such things happen at sea, and it is also an ultra-marine moment for somebody. The writer, having founded an economic essay upon this blue water incident, proceeds with the nautical analogy, which makes it necessary to put President Cleveland in command of the ship which was chased as a merchantman, while on the deck of the armed pursuer, where are all the "manly faces," "the joy of

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battle," "pulses," and other properties of the piece, the crew hails Mr. Blaine with a

> "Sing hey !
> The gallant Captain that you are ! "

Thence onward to the end the writer hurries, calling all differences of opinion "dishonest," and those who hold them "thieves," while the President, against whose policy it is admitted that the country must be educated, is denounced as "shallow." Surely, this is a poor compliment to our countrymen, if the charge be true that a century of free schools has so misguided them that the Republican party must go forth with a primer in one hand and a rod in the other, to keep them from self-destruction under the leadership of a President of their own choosing !

Space forbids that I should follow the ensuing epilepsy of composition, in which "hurled spears," "British gold," and the harmless but necessary sheep, flush and fade like the figures in fire-works; but I may be permitted to regret that in the rapid run over a corduroy of epithets, from the mistake about the merchantman to an orgasmic consideration of the wool tariff, the writer has forgotten to explain what Mr. Blaine was doing in command of an armed ship running down defenseless merchantmen at sea ! As the incident stands alone in the exordium, it leaves the laugh on the pursuer that was hunting plunder and found a fight, and it suggests the cause of the scarcity of merchantmen flying the American flag, as outlined so long ago by Senator Grimes.

There be laws and laws. Some are natural and some are artificial. Those which are natural do not all relate to the Solstice and Equinox, to seed time and harvest, to sunshine and rain, for there are natural laws governing the commercial contacts of men and nations, as inflexible as those which cause the seasons to move in procession. Senator Evarts once felt briefly the inspiration of this truth when he said to a Philadelphia audience, "If you wish to sell, you must consent to buy."

A certain political school in this country treats as heresy any protest against having all our thinking done in Maine and most of our manufacturing in Massachusetts. This school raves at the President's Message because it suggests that the people of the other States and Territories need not turn their faces to Maine when they pray, and he dares to tell them that in this country

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thought is free, notwithstanding the "Trust" organized to monopolize it. For this he meets a resentment as bitter as that which condemned the no more significant proclamation by Mr. Lincoln, which declared thenceforth the physical freedom of every man to work for himself. The most significant effect of the Message is the promise of a new cleavage in politics. The discussion of the subsidy system, which it has started, will not stop until a self-thinking people have reasoned their way onward to their share of the benefits of the natural laws of commerce, by which the wealth won by the many is not the sole property of the few, but is distributed, in equitable proportion, to the labor and capital which God joins that they may multiply.

In this process will appear the form and features of that artificial system which has violated the natural laws of trade. That system had an excuse in the beginning with which there is no present dispute. The fiscal necessities of the Republic, struggling against dismemberment, inasmuch as they warranted the seizure and use of all means, and the suspension of all rights, and the silence of all laws in the assertion of self-preservation, that first law of nature and of nations, were the occasion, as war is always the occasion, of abnormal expedients. The Government was the best customer for food and fabrics, arms and munitions. It paid prices in depreciated paper that seem now like the extravaganzas of a fairy tale; and it gave the large holder of its notes twice the benefit of the discount, by permitting their conversion at their purchasing power into bonds redeemable at par.

Mr. Blaine admits the prosperity and uniform accretion of wealth which followed the tariff of 1846, but ascribes them to the discovery of gold in California and the Crimean war. But he makes of the tariff of 1862 the Aladdin's lamp which is alone responsible for what wealth has been created since, crediting nothing to the measureless consumption during the war and the profits of double discounts given to manufacturers and contractors, which, with high prices and high interest added, all reappeared in bonds representing the National debt, to be paid by the labor of the country. That burden was cheerfully taken up and so gallantly carried that the tax-paying people had the pleasure of seeing the bonds, owned by the non-taxed bondholder, appreciate. I remember how proud of my country I was when our bonds touched par in London. They crept beyond, to a pre-

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mium, and the labor of the country which carried the load, as the camel carries sugar while he feeds on thistles, omitted no emotion of patriotic pride, and still wrought as early and as late to pay taxes to pay bonds representing the phenomenal prices, and discounts and premiums which fertilized the organized and protected interests of this country. Certainly the yeomanry of the country had earned a respite. They had fought a war to successful issue; had restored the public credit and were still paying taxes to produce an annual surplus of millions over the public needs of the Government. A merciful man is merciful to his beast, and surely a government should not be less to its citizens. They had been like the spoon which carries the soup to the mouth but gets none itself, and had not grumbled. To force from them an unnecessary tax to produce a surplus for which the Government had no use was the reverse of sound policy. Both parties had said so, and, after the fashion of politicians, each had laid the blame upon the other, and each had asked the country to believe that it alone would apply the remedy. But both failed, and looked on, insensible to the danger, while unnecessary taxation withdrew from the people and from the arteries of commerce and the active enterprises of the country a surplus larger every year than the total Federal revenues were in 1860. The country had its arteries cut and was bleeding to death, while the politicians berated each other for not applying a styptic, and Mr. Blaine was loftily lecturing the newspapers upon the use that might be made of the blood. Upon such a scene issued the President, to remind the unfaithful of their promises dishonored, and the greedy of the danger of eating their seed wheat to the jeopardy of future harvests.

Both parties were pledged to reduce tariff taxation down to the actual needs of the Government. Confronted with this promise, Mr. Blaine replies that the way to reduce the surplus is to spend it, and his party affects to discover that when it comes to reducing taxation, Americans want a free pipe and glass!

The revenue raised from tobacco and whisky is not a tax. It is a bounty paid by the consumers of those articles who are able to indulge a luxury and a vice. The use of both could be suspended by the whole country and no one would suffer more than the passing inconvenience which attends the cessation of a bad habit. The unnecessary taxes are those laid upon the necessaries

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of life, the use of which is neither a luxury nor a vice. This is that taxation which, put upon the tools with which men toil and upon the pillow on which they rest, takes toll from roof and groundsill, from hearth and table, from shirt and shroud, and slacks its grip only to hand them over to Death, who receipts the debt of Nature and puts them on the free list at last.

The lessening of these unnecessary taxes upon the necessaries of life might well have been considered apart from the quarrel of the doctrinaires over free trade and protection.

When the Union was threatened in 1861 Stephen A. Douglass sounded the key-note of duty when he said, "Let slavery go up or go down, I am for the Union." To-day the man who loves his country will not be found bickering over theories, but will stand for good faith in redemption of his party's pledge that unnecessary taxes shall be abated. This appeals to the members of both parties, for each has the pledge upon its conscience. Therefore the consideration of the Protection clamor is distinctly non-partisan, since it is raised against the expressed purpose of both parties. What is that clamor? Take California for an example of the searching system of tariff taxation.

The flockmasters of that State cry for a renewal of the wool tariff of 1867, and join forces with that gentle shepherd, Mr. Columbus Delano, of Ohio. They, of course, desire to benefit the labor engaged in raising wool!

It is said that when two Roman soothsayers met, they could not look each other in the face without laughing. Perhaps that is the reason why flockmasters stand back to back while they talk about the interests of labor as involved in the wool tariff. The most abject labor on the Continent is that which is hired for a pittance by the flockmasters in all this region west of the Rocky Mountains. Isolated, forlorn, with the temptations of solitude and the sins of Sodom upon it, this labor is supposed to plead for a continuance of its high prosperity (which it never saw) in tariff resolutions!

One generation forgets the experience of its predecessor, and the wool grower of to-day would be purged of many fallacies by a good dose of the history of prices. The Boston market takes the surplus wool of the country and fixes the price of that staple. During the period of 1850–61 the average price of wool in Boston was 54 cents per pound, and from 1875 to 1886 only 30 1-16 cents.

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During the latter period, under a high tariff, California's wool crop of 525,972,368 pounds brought $117,467,162 less in Boston than it would have returned at the prices of 1850–61.

The manufacturers were limited to a narrow range of fabrics by exclusion of foreign wools needed for admixture. Their home market was gorged, and they had none abroad. The wool grower suffered. Yet he is made to believe that a tariff can almost put a fleece on a hydraulic ram, and repeats the formula about protecting the labor engaged in wool growing!

During this period of decline in wool and resulting loss to the California flockmaster, unnecessary taxation smote the California farmer. From jute and jute sacks alone, the tariff took a tax between 1875 and 1886 of nearly $7,000,000, though the Treasury did not need the money and the farmers had to have the jute to sack their grain for market. If lumber, coal, iron, and salt be included, the annual contribution wrung from the land of one State rises to such an aggregate as to justify all the solicitude caused by the Treasury surplus. Extending to all the agricultural States the area of useless drainage into the Treasury, we have an aggregate of unnecessary taxation equal to the average annual profits of the farming industry. That industry has for years contributed three-fourths of the country's exports. It has sold food and raw material abroad at prices which the labor of Europe can pay, and those prices, paid for the farmer's surplus, have fixed the price for which he must sell in the home market.

But no nation can long sell more than it buys. Compelled to sell abroad, the farmer is forbidden to buy abroad. England was his best customer for wheat until, in self defense, that country bought a controlling interest in the Suez Canal, subsidized railways into the vast plains of India, and, with cheap rail and short water route in hand, put our wheat raisers in competition with Asiatic labor at a wage of five cents per day.

"If you wish to sell you must consent to buy." The fleetest horse cannot run away from his tail. Senator Morrill declares that the rate of tariff taxation must increase in the ratio of population, but that tax cannot increase fast enough to outrun its results.

Is it any wonder that the farm mortgage is overgrowing the States of the Mississippi Valley? Is it any wonder that an increase of tenant farmers follows foreclosure? Is it any wonder

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that in the manufacturing States infancy is conscripted into the army of bread winners, to the physical damage and mental deterioration of our people, and that drastic laws are passed to avert this consequence of unnecessary taxation? Is it any wonder that we have ceased to level the immigrant up to our standard, but find ourselves slipping down to his?

Flippant statesmanship, white-washing the symptom in ignorance of the disease, proposes to stop immigration, that we may stew in our own juice; and to relieve the congestion of commercial non-intercourse by further taxation of the people to subsidize ships to carry our surplus manufactures abroad, making our own people pay the freight to enable others to buy our goods cheaper than we can get them ourselves. To this expedient have we come! Beginning with taxing the many for the profit of the few, we end by taxing ourselves to bribe the foreign buyer, paying a high price that he may pay a low one! "The Two Messages" have made the issue. It is not between Free Trade and Protection. It is between economy and unnecessary taxation. It is between the natural and the artificial laws of trade. Let who may shuffle and shun the burning question, President Cleveland has met it and faced the storm that is always raised by those who live by the labor of others. The highest mountain meets the heaviest tempest, but the majesty of its crest is not dinted by the lightning nor dulled by the mist.

Standing for the fireside interests of his countrymen, the President needs no spear, nor plume, nor armor, for Truth goes forth naked to battle, while Falsehood needs a sword and shirt of mail.

JOHN P. IRISH.

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., Feb. 3.

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THE LION'S SIDE OF THE LION QUESTION.

THE Indian question in our politics is not a question of choice. It is inexorable and pressing. For our errors and our crimes in treating it we pay in money, we pay in blood. The Indian race and the Caucasian race are face to face. The better elements of both races meet and mingle to mutual advantage. The worst elements of both races meet and cheat, with the inevitable result that the blood of the bravest and best is shed in atonement. If only the vile and ruffianly whites, the drunken and savage red men were concerned, they might be left to themselves, but we have just barely escaped an Indian war precipitated by ignorant, greedy, and unscrupulous whites, and we have not escaped the loss of the thousands of dollars which their recklessness has cost.

There is but one solution to the Indian question: it is a strife between barbarism and civilization, and barbarism must go down. The world has been facing upward from the beginning. But how barbarism shall go down is a question on which we have much to say. Melting, dissolving, exhaling in the sun of righteousness; respringing in gentleness and vanishing, if vanish it must, before a stronger race, insensibly, painlessly, and respringing, if spring it may, as the life of flower and fruit returns in fresh vigor to the blood and brain of man—so barbarism will disappear, if we are truly civilized. If we, too, are barbaric, it goes down in blood and wrath and unutterable woe.

The Indians know this as well as we. Politics is with them a matter of life and death. The question is not whether the Indian race be inferior or equal to the Caucasian race. That is interesting, but irrelevant. It is not whether the Indian will die out before the white man. They have been in contact for 200 years, and neither is as yet moribund. It is not whether the Indian is

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civilizable. He is already civilized in large sections. It is not an issue of economy. That war is the most extravagant and justice the most economical mode of settling the question has been a thousand times demonstrated.

The Indian question now is greatly a question of right and wrong. Primarily, it is the preservation of our own honor; of the plighted faith of the Government to a weak and helpless race. The policy concerns the best measures to effect the Indian's assimilation with the least friction.

In considering whether we will stand with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, or whether we will lapse into the wrong on a listless plea that we cannot help it, we should remember that the history of the world thus far has taught that the power outside ourselves makes for righteousness. If we commit ourselves to righteousness, we commit ourselves, therefore, to the heaviest battalions. In the short run, honesty is the best principle; but it sometimes takes the long run to show that honesty is the best policy.

We may say, and believe, that the only good Indian is the dead Indian, but murder of the Indians is bad morals, and the cost of our Indian wars in blood and treasure ought to have showed us long before this that it is bad administration. It is not mere sentimentalism regarding the Indians; it is self preservation regarding ourselves. The low wash, the sediment and refuse of civilization sweeps to slay; the high and purifying wave must follow to cleanse and restore.

I cannot join in the cry of dishonor and disgrace to the Government for its treatment of the Indians. It seems to me that great efforts have been made to protect and to sustain them, and not without success. That there has also been failure and disaster cannot be denied, and is to be expected where the problems are so complicated, the conditions so varying, the instruments so human. Dealing out rations to roving, able-bodied Indians is not without an element of absurdity, and failure of supply through the dishonesty of agents has been fruitful of blood and woe. The distribution of lands in severalty, involving the destruction of the reservation system, is a not unnatural resource for the remedy of the evils of pupilage.

Much of the effort to bring about this policy arises not from greed, but from benevolence—a conviction that it is the one final

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method of bringing the Indian out of the individualism of barbarism to the organization of citizenship and civilization.

It seems the hardest thing in the world to get at the truth about the Indian, though he is in the very heart and centre of our country.

We recall the brilliant raid upon our sympathies made not long ago by Mr. Tibbles, Bright Eyes, and their Poncas. Mr. Osborne, the Indian agent, professes that he visited the Poncas with the most animated desire to better their condition and the most buoyant hope founded on previous representations. He bestirred himself early and late till he had satisfied their claims. To enable them to cultivate their farms, he purchased for them one hundred and twenty-four of the best horses to be found. In three days these horses began to be reported as strayed, or stolen, or stabbed, or torn by wire fence, stake-pin, or lariat; and, finally, he had to summon his force to disperse the whole tribe gathered on a sunny hillside for a horse-race, and, in spite of his best watchfulness, some twenty of the young braves stole off by night on horseback, and made the best of their way back to their old home in Dakota! In spite of a previous government report that they were energetic, cleanly, that they ate family meals around neatly spread tables in comfortable homes, he protests, on his word and honor, that he found all of them lazy, and four-fifths of them filthy; that they do not eat in family circles nor upon neatly spread tables, nor upon tables at all; that they have from one to three wives, eat dog as a luxury, and choke ponies to death at the graves of their dead. Such a report as this is rather discouraging to the sentimental side of duty. I do not know from actual observation either the past or present condition of the Ponca Indians. What I have seen is Indian men and women clad in a blanket, or in rags, or in both—indolent, listless, reckless paupers of the persistent type; men and women pattering beside a slowly-moving train, climbing up the steps and railings of engine and coaches to steal a ride, scarcely seeming to be human beings. And I have seen Indians as erect, elegant, dignified, intelligent, accomplished as any members of the white race. It cannot be impossible to do what has been done.

In this country it should be a truism to say that whatever is done for the Indian should be done by the Indian, by his assist-

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ance if not wholly through his agency. He understands his race as another race cannot. If Indian affairs were, as far as possible, in the hands of Indians; if the Indian Department were, as far as practicable, composed of Indians, we should have fewer Indian massacres, Indian uprisings, Indian scares. The civilized Indian, backed by the whole power of the United States Government, would be a mighty force, a potent object lesson to the wild Indian. Proof of this is found in the beneficial effects of the employment of Indians by Government as Reservation police officers, United States Indian police, and Indian scouts. I have the greatest mistrust as to the existence of Indian uprisings. The Indians are perfectly aware of the might of the United States. There is no reasonable doubt they want peace. They fear war more than we do. I believe that these Indian troubles are very largely fomented by the greed of the white race in its lower circles—deliberately designing trouble in order to possess themselves of Naboth's vineyard. When Poor Buffalo informs Bishop Whipple that he is known by almost every Western tribe, and that he is now no more a warrior, but is trying to keep the peace among all his tribes, he is to be believed and he ought to be used as a medium of peace and good will. One such "uprising" as that among the Utes, quickly as it was seen through and put to shame, cost the Government more than would the salary of a commission for twenty years. The Creeks, the Choctaws, the Five Nations, have so strong an element of civilization that they could be brought to bear upon the wilder tribes with the greatest economy. Poor Buffalo knew Colorow long before we ever heard of him. Peace seems now to be restored, but is any sufficient restitution made to the Indians who have suffered? Is any punishment meted out to the mis reants who, in the name of law and under color of law, degraded the law of the land in the eyes of the Utes? Is anything done to deter other miscreants in other places from involving the Government in similar shame and loss? It ought to be understood that any person who brings the word of the Government into disrepute among the Indians is doing the greatest possible harm, is helping to shed blood. The lives of United States soldiers are as sacred as those of any other United States citizen, and to imperil their lives that lawless citizens may get lawless possession of the fair Indian lands is murder in the first degree.

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There seems to be a general consensus—that being now the fashionable word—of public opinion that Colorow is a good deal of a rascal. But that is the very reason why the unscrupulous whites tampered with him. He is a weak point in the Indian Territory. A strong, intelligent, and upright Indian they would not attempt to use as an opening wedge. They could make Colorow "uprise" with comparatively little provocation—and then follow outrages, the army, bloodshed, Eastern indignation against the barbarian, and a fresh resolution against the Indian reservation. *Q. E. D.*

The Five Nations in the Indian Territory have adopted the arts and the sciences, the manners and the religion of civilization. The first considerable town which the traveler approaches from the East is Vinita, and it is externally undistinguishable from any Missouri town. From the railroad station it is wide and shabby and dusty—but the vicinity of a railroad station is seldom attractive as a residence to Caucasians. Vinita has broad streets, frame, brick, and stone houses and stores. It has all the machinery of a Caucasian town—mayor and council, town clerk and treasurer, taxes and municipal regulations, and courts of law, four churches, a high-school, and a large public school-house—till a United States citizen set fire to it. The Indian residents subscribe for the daily papers and the magazines. The Cherokee government is on the general model of the United States Government. The treaties with the United States are the supreme law of the land and there is a written constitution.

The principal chief is the President or Governor of the Cherokee Nation. At present it is Chief Bushyhead. He has four secretaries, educated at Princeton. There is a treasurer who is under a $75,000 bond and who has also a secretary and an auditor. There is a National Council and an Executive Council. The latter is the Cabinet and the former the Congress. It is composed of Senate and House of Representatives, and is controlled by the usual Parliamentary rules. The language employed is both English and Cherokee. A majority speak English, nearly all understand it, and an interpreter serves those who do not.

Senators and Representatives are elected by the people—the legal voting age being eighteen. Political campaigns were represented to me as being conducted with the greatest interest, with district managers and lodge captains, and all the machinery of or-

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ganization; with speakers and barbecues and campaign slanders in the highest style of civilization.

Their judicial system is furnished with district courts, circuit courts, supreme court, juries and grand juries, and all the enginery of appeal and delay.

At the capital, Tahlequah, the government building is of brick, stone-capped, with cupola and committee rooms, court rooms, and abundant offices. The nation supports printing-office, newspapers, a prison, seminaries, orphan asylums, blind and indigent asylums, male seminaries, and female seminaries.

It is a nation within a nation. It is a civilized nation within a civilized nation. Seventy years ago the Five Nations wore the blanket. When a people has thus organized itself, it is idle to discuss whether it is capable of becoming civilized. It is civilized. The presence of a degraded, beastly class has no more bearing than the presence of such a class on the lower border lines of white civilization. An interesting, but not a pertinent question, is whether civilization is not concomitant with amalgamation. It is true that the Cherokee Legislature is three-fourths full blood, but many of the half-breed Indians themselves seemed to rest their hope for the future on the union of the two races. A full blood Indian wife of a high half-breed official, declared that if it were possible she would at once go back and be a blanket Indian. To similar declarations many half-breeds added that they would, if they could, drain every drop of white blood from their veins; but I am convinced that this is partly from a proud determination that no one shall suspect them of being ashamed of their Indian blood. It is certain that there is a great, I think a universal admiration, for the ability of the white blood, even side by side with the distrust and suspicion born of long experience with border ruffians.

But they cannot stay blanket Indians whether they will or not. Civilization is too strong for them. It is not ours or theirs to decide. The power outside ourselves presses us all on slowly, but irresistibly, Indian and Caucasian alike. The Indian will either be civilized into an American citizen or buried in an unmarked grave. If it is the latter, it will not be a lonely grave, nor of unshared shame.

If it is through amalgamation that this power works out the problem, what has that to do with justice towards the Indian

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race; with wisdom regarding the American policy? If Caucasian blood is of a finer strain than Indian blood, so much the more should it be honorable in dealing with the inferior.

The "burning question" in Indian politics at present is the land-in-severalty question. Some of the best of our statesmen and citizens are urgent advocates of this policy. It will not, perhaps, be entirely insignificant to say that I myself counted it the only proper policy until I was shown the Indian side of it by the Indians themselves. All the best, the most advanced Indians that I saw—as well as those less remote from the wilderness—view the new policy with the gravest apprehension. They look forward to attaining citizenship in the future. They hope and aim one day to become a State, or a group of States, inherent and equal parts of the nation, but premature citizenship precipitated upon an unprepared community seems to them not only disastrous, but fatal.

Their present tenure is peculiar, but is guaranteed by solemn treaty—as sacred a compact as a government can make. Under this compact the Indian may own, occupy, cultivate, bequeath all such land in the Indian territories as he chooses to fence in and cultivate, but he may not sell it, nor own it as an absentee, or bequeath it to an absentee. It goes in direct line to his children, but only while they occupy it. If he leaves it, if he ceases to live on it, or utilize it, it reverts to the community. While he is on it his right is inalienable. If he abandons it all his ownership lapses. No one can take up land in the Indian Territory unless he is Indian or married to an Indian. The white husband of an Indian wife or the white wife of an Indian husband enters into all the privileges of a full blooded Indian. Otherwise the white man is forbidden. If an Indian so much as employs a white man he must pay a fee to the Government of five dollars per annum. Many of these Indians see just as clearly as the white man the prospective value of these lands, and they are fencing in on all sides with increasing energy. That of itself is a mark of civilization. If it be said that they are aggrandizing themselves, what then? Who have a better right to become land magnates than the original land owners? Such criticism is but finding fault with the Indian for doing what he has always been blamed for not doing. He has been considered hopelessly savage for not utilizing the land, and now is he to be

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reproached for using it too extensively ? It seems to me that the most splendid triumph of the great Republic would be to see every blanket Indian of them all evolute into a country squire, with lands and flocks and much cattle.

If our Government justly recognizes the right even of the barbarian landholder, and in return for his birth-right in the soil gives him life-rations, how much more should it recognize that birth-right of the civilized Indian and grant him fee simple of all the land he will improve. The barbarism of the Indian, the civilization of the Caucasian, constitutes our only original right to the soil. It was because he did not occupy, that we had a right to occupy. If, now, he is willing to occupy, there is added to his original right the social right, and to his original right our Government had previously given the legal right.

Practically, it will be seen, therefore, that all the Indians who are in any degree fit for land ownership already own the land. Those who do not see clearly enough the value of property in land to make the small effort requisite to ownership, would not be benefited by having ownership thrust upon them, and the nation would be destroyed. Many of them would fall a prey to the scheming whites who would pounce upon them. They would sell their lands for whiskey, and would then be turned adrift without resource to be the pest and terror of communities. From becoming an outcast to becoming an outlaw would be but a single step.

To make the title inalienable for a period of years will not prevent giving bond for title and present occupancy. Law can hardly deny the right of contract to the new citizen, and if it did it would be easily evaded and amended by the appeal to Congress of the very people its terms were intended to protect. Where titles have been made inalienable for a period of years, the ignorant allottees have been ingeniously aroused, by interested speculators, to indignation at the limitation of their right, and urged to petition Congress, declaring their ability to manage their own affairs, and asking removal of this injurious (?) restriction.

With the Indian title in the nation or community the individual is comparatively safe. He cannot dispose of an acre, and hence is not subjected to temptation. His nation educates him, gives him all the land he cares to cultivate, and if he is not sufficiently educated to realize the value of land, he is yet safe from

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vagabondage, and may make an humble home, secure against ejectment or the vagrancy that would be the lot of his ignorant helplessness in the States. If he is sufficiently educated, his nation gives him ample opportunity to use the land, gratify his ambition, and stimulate his weaker brother by his example.

In the Cherokee Nation, there is said to be no Indian pauper, except where physically disabled, and certainly there is no need to be, for while monopoly is controlled, every man willing to work can make a decent living.

The Indians plead, and it seems to me justly, the sacredness of the pledged and solemn faith of our Government. It is continually urged by them that the United States promised them, as among the inducements to remove to this territory, that the land should be theirs as long as grass grows and water runs. President Jackson, in an address to the Creeks, March 23d, 1829, assured them: "There your white brothers will not trouble you; they will have no claim to the land, and you can live upon it, you and all your children, as long as the grass grows or the water runs, in peace and plenty."

Trusting in his words, and in the faith of treaties, the Indians left their cultivated lands at immense sacrifice, both of material advantage and of sentiment. They bought and paid for their new lands with promise of fee simple title by treaty, and a practical fee simple they received in a patent from Van Buren. In good faith they have settled and constructed a thorough system of laws. All they ask is that Congress keep its hands off and keep off the hands of lawless greed, and let them enjoy their property and the treaty guarantees and work out the problem of statehood by the laws of growth common to all men passing from savage to civil life.

The new policy of lands in severalty seems to them a violation of treaty. It takes wholly away from the *Indian Nation* the land allotted to it by treaty forever. It destroys all national and patriotic feeling and ambition. For the influence of the civilized Indian upon the wild Indian, it substitutes the influence of the most unscrupulous of the whites, whose one aim is to possess themselves of the land which the barbaric Indian too little values, and which he is only too ready to barter.

The chief of the Seminoles declares that "the advantages of these lands for grazing or for agricultural purposes have long

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been sufficiently known to their rightful owners [the Indian nation, not individual Indians], who have never complained or questioned their title guaranteed to them under the most solemn promises of the United States Government." He protests that the new division "changes the whole status of the Indian's title to his land;" that "the lands have simply become too valuable for the Indian to hold . . . and the Indian must starve to death upon them any way, whenever the Government ceases to furnish him with commissaries." He feels that "God alone can interpose in His wisdom to save them from the effects of this fatal policy, fraught with so much misery, suffering, and death."

Tah-bee-nanah-kah, chief of the Comanches, begs "to present this to our Great Father at Washington: We are opposed to the land-in-severalty bill that has been passed in Congress last year. Our great father at Washington told us to send our children to school; we have done all that, but, of course, the wild Indian children can't learn pretty fast; and besides the hardness of learning the ways of civilization, and of the white people, the children don't get the regular instruction. And so, by that reason, they cannot learn very fast. I, Tah-bee-nanah-kah, whenever our Great Father at Washington told us to send our children to school, I always going about telling the other Indians what the Great Father at Washington wanted to be done. But whenever I hear the dividing lands to us, I always dislike to hear it."

The Caddo Chief, Jake, narrates through an interpreter his experience: "I took the trip to Washington to protest before the Commissioner against the sectionalizing of the lands of my people. I told him my people were alarmed in consequence of the law enacted to divide our lands in severalty. I told the Commissioner that I had seen other Indians whose lands had been sectionalized and they said it was bad for them to have their lands divided, and as it was bad for them it must be bad for my people and other Indians, and it would bring misery and ruin upon my people. In former times and up to the present time, he and all his people had advised us and all the Indians to learn to labor and to gain education, and now when my people are just beginning to realize and accept the benefits of knowing how to work, you are attempting to change our customs and entail ruin on my people. When I spoke thus the Commissioner grew angry, and pointing his finger in my face said I was not telling him what was

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my own mind, but only what the white men who had inter-married had told me and what the half breed Indians told me and the educated Indians who had instructed me to go on there and talk as I did. But I told him I was telling him the truth and giving him the views of myself and my people."

Cho-near-kee, of the Wichitas, opposes the act, protests against the allotment, without consent of the Indians, of "the last we have for a home for our women and children," and looks to the five civilized tribes to work for them.

So great is the feeling among them against this alienation of land from the nation, so jealous are they of their tenure, that a considerable portion of the time of their last International Council at Eufala was devoted not so much to discussing as to deprecating it. The existence of such a council is worthy of notice by those of us who think the only good Indian is a dead Indian. The Council is the natural offspring of that which was established or authorized by treaty of 1866, and let it always be remembered that the United States treaties are the supreme law, the constitution, the very basis of organized society in the Indian Territory. The Council is composed of delegates from the five civilized nations and all the wild tribes of the plains. As an instrument of civilization its importance cannot be over-estimated. Delegates from fourteen of the wild tribes were present at the last Council, and a Cherokee informed me that but for the unwarranted interference of the United States agent he believed that the deadly Apaches and many other tribes would have come. A Comanche chief who was present gave the recalcitrant side very frankly when he reported the opinion of Qui-ni-ah, another Comanche, who "said he got nothing to do with the Council, and said that he will not listen to any Indian, but will do the business by his own ways and will not listen to anybody's advice"—to which conclusion the fact may have lent firmness that "so many white people been cutting timbers in our country without our consent."

This Council prepared, and by unanimous consent adopted, a memorial to the President of the United States which, in its complete insight, its absolute helplessness, and its pathetic loyalty, seems to me worthy of remembrance.

"Whatever misgivings," say these representatives of a race that once held this land undisputed from sea to sea, "may have

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seemed to be justified in our minds by the actions of the Government of the United States, yet we are willing to assume that it is always its purpose in the treatment of the Indians to benefit them as rapidly as possible by throwing around them those conditions which will enable them effectively to adapt themselves to the requirements of civilized life in the least possible time.

"Your memorialists disclaim any intention to antagonize or obstruct the operation of any just and effective policy that may be adopted by the United States for the general advancement of the Indians, but, on the contrary, will do whatever they can to contribute to its effectiveness.

"For attempting to present this view of our brothers to the President we will be pardoned when it is remembered that we are alike opposed to its provisions [land-in-severalty bill]; regarding them merely as a departure from the policy under which we have prospered, to one which will, in the near future, engulf all of the nations and tribes of the Territory in one common catastrophe, to the enrichment of land monopolists, before whom even your own citizens, with all the civilized machinery of justice, seem powerless to secure their rights. We deprecate any measure or law, which will, in our judgment, lead to placing any of the Indians of the Territory as party to so unequal a contest. Like other people, the Indian needs at least the germ of political identity, some governmental organization of his own, however crude, to which his pride and manhood may cling and claim allegiance, in order to make true progress in the affairs of life. This peculiarity in the Indian character is elsewhere called patriotism, and the wise and patient fashioning and guidance of which alone will successfully solve the question of civilization. Preclude him from this and he has little else to live for.

"Your memorialists, especially of the five tribes, have undergone sad experience in transactions with the United States of an identical nature in 1830 and 1832, and shudder at the thought of the misfortunes that must surely come to the tribes of the farther West if the provisions of this law are enforced. The tribes earnestly desire and ask that the President stay the operation of the law until they shall be in a condition to be benefited by it; and the five civilized tribes also join in an earnest and respectful request that the President do not put in force the land-in-severalty act upon a powerless and protesting people until they may at least

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have the opportunity of testing the validity of their rights before the judiciary of the United States."

The President of the Council addressed it at length on the importance, the necessity, as well as the advantages of education, drew comparison between the five civilized tribes and their Western brethren, called attention to the difference in their dress and their mode of living, and urged the wild tribes to teach their children to read, to farm, to wear the civilized dress, to establish schools and churches. He believed the land-in-severalty act would be enforced, but he implored the Indians in such case to keep the land allotted them and never to sell it. He expressed sympathy with them in their trouble, but bade them be men and face it by education.

Yet, with all the wisdom, the moderation, and the submission exhibited in this Council, it was denounced in a high political office under our Government as an attempt of the Five Tribes "to make trouble where they have no interest and no business to interfere."

It would seem difficult for political darkness to be deeper. Even should their position be wrong, their deepest interest is in their less civilized brethren, and their noblest business is to assist, advise, and sustain them. Some of these wild tribes had traveled two hundred miles and more to meet the civilized tribes in council. One of their number, Towaccanie Jim, affirms that "all these tribes are united. . . . We are one nation, and stand solid together now." Is it wise to discourage organization, combination, the influence of the more advanced upon the less advanced?

If the Indians were making no efforts to civilize themselves we might have some pretext for breaking our treaties in the impossibility of keeping them. But the Indians are painfully striving for improvement. Undoubtedly hosts of them will fall by the way, will die in the blanket. Many more will die in the full communion of civilized vice. But a remnant will remain. If we keep faith with them, the remnant may be a compelling majority, and presently be incorporated as a constituent part of the Great Republic. At any cost, we should keep faith.

The earlier breaches of treaties were caused by conflict of State and Federal authority. Georgia passed her laws over Cherokees —laws of the most arbitrary and cruel force; laws imprisoning

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missionaries for the crime of preaching the word of God to the Cherokees, putting up their lands at public raffle, and virtually compelling removal in violation of treaty rights as guaranteed by the Federal Government. The Federal Government temporized on the question of "State rights" to nullify Federal treaty, and forced a treaty on the Cherokees, who bitterly resisted the removal and who lost one-quarter to one-third of her people by death because of this removal. One young Indian told me that he still held his grandfather's claim against the United States for the loss of his home at this time. He had a mill, various log-houses, orchards, cultivated fields. Its value of over $2,000 remains unpaid. The treaties all provide that the Western homes of the Indians shall never have the laws of State or Territory extended over them.

The act of Georgia in its unjust assertion of State right over these people was bitterly atoned and the error in the principle corrected at heavy cost.

To say, under the shadow of their churches and schools and courts, that the Indians are hopelessly welded to barbarism, is an absurdity. To look at their worst and to judge thence of the whole, is as unreasonable as it would be to look into the purlieus of a great New York and judge thence that Americans are incapable of civilization. The white man, adventurous, restless, eager, looks over the acres, fair and wide, but the mere remnant of a continent in past possession, now the last award, refuge, and resource of the Indians, and greedily prates of the impracticability of reserving this to barbarism; but of many remarks which might be made, one is that, barbarous as it is, it is hardly more barbarous than many tracts in the surrounding States.

With all its barbarism, it is very certain that the Indians are doing more to civilize their tribes than are the white Christians who cheat and steal and foment Indian disturbances, and raise Indian wars, under the horror and dread of which public sentiment may be inflamed against them to the violation of our treaties, the occupation of their land, the destruction of their autonomy, and the gratification of their greedy foes.

The low, ignorant, unprincipled white is the most deadly foe of the Indian. The educated Christian white must be untiring for his rescue and redemption. The whiskey brought him by civilization is a never-failing fountain of evil. Shall not the

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springs of beneficence be equally unfailing? Greed is indefatigable in debasing him. Shall Christianity ever be tired of elevating him?

But let us not forget that the pressing question is not a question of benefiting the Indian. It is a question of keeping our own faith. We may repeat the dishonor of the past or we may be stanch and defend the plighted word of the Government. It is not easy, but I think it must be possible. It cannot be that this country is too feeble to repress the unruly, yet not wholly ungenerous spirits of its own adventurous children. If it were once thoroughly established that this Government is no more to be deceived by the cry of Indian uprising; if it were known that every injustice and robbery would be thoroughly investigated and punished, would it not have a repressive effect? If, in the wisdom of our wise men, a way could be provided by which a body of people who are subject and willingly subject to the criminal jurisdiction of the United States should no longer be totally without civil redress when robbed of their property, would it not tend to keep back covetous hands? The timber, coal, and other natural properties may be freely stolen from *Indian* reservations, if the Indian, and not the Government, holds title, and there is no penalty under United States laws. The statute protects United States lands but not *Indian* lands, and United States citizens freely steal from the agencies, and coolly remark there is no law to punish it.

The Indian may be robbed of his property, his lands, his invested funds by Government, and is without resource, except perennial begging at the doors of Congress. The hearing by special act of Congress before the Court of Claims of a few cases has shown *millions* of dollars due the Indians and for generations unpaid.

"Is there anything you would like to have me say for you?" I asked a young Indian.

"Yes," he answered, quickly; "I would like to try and have a law passed in Congress by which an Indian, or an Indian nation, may sue in the courts of the United States and there defend their rights from organized or unorganized robbery."

The answer may have been foolish in the instrumentality employed, but it was an answer very far off from the tomahawk, the scalping knife, and the blanket.

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Let the American citizen, crowding the Indian to the wall, lay to heart the eternal truth of the tyrant's experience—

"I had
Soberly laid my last plan
To extinguish the man,
Till I looked from my labor content
To enjoy the event.
When sudden, how think ye, the end?
Did I say 'without friend'?
Say rather from marge to blue marge
The whole sky grew his targe,
With the sun's self for visible boss,
While an arm ran across
Which the earth heaved beneath, like a breast,
Where the wretch was safe prest!
Do you see? just my vengeance complete,
The man sprang to his feet,
Stood erect, caught at God's skirts, and prayed!
—Lo, *I* was afraid!"

GAIL HAMILTON.

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INCREASE OF THE STANDING ARMY.

STRANGELY, workingmen and professors in particular of political and economic friendliness for them, and that class of statesmen who have been declaimers of opposition to centralization, are proposing and urging that the Standing Army of this country shall be re-enforced by one hundred thousand men, enlisted and employed under the immediate orders of one of the departments of the Government. This army is to be scattered throughout the land, and each of the men composing it placed in communication that is instantaneous with the rest; and the commander in chief could in a flash wire his orders with the force of official authority to the whole wonderful organization, bound together with fire and iron, and employ it for such service, political or otherwise, as might appear good to him. This would seem to be the grandest scheme ever contrived for centralization.

It is not the military arm that the proposed re-enforcements are to strengthen, but the civil organism that is to be extended and made at once more comprehensive and communicative—a vastly greater and stronger machine. The ordinary way of stating what the scheme is in phrase that would recommend it claims that the Government should become responsible for telegraphy—that we should establish an official class, as they have in Great Britain, and follow the British example in providing the people with a postal telegraph.

The only improvement upon the English system that is strenuously recommended is, that the rights of private citizens who have engaged in telegraphing as a business shall not be regarded—that the Government shall not purchase the lines, and patents, and leases, and contracts, and batteries, and machinery, and buildings that are the property of the company whose wires stretch across the continent and penetrate every State and Terri-

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tory, maintaining sixteen thousand offices for the public accommodation, but shall erect other lines and buildings and enter upon an immense competition with individual enterprise. In other words, property that stands in the market at a value near sixty millions of dollars, is to be destroyed by a process as rigorous as any known under martial law, because one citizen of the United States holds a large proportion of the stock. This citizen presumably has faults, and his great pecuniary success has caused them to be magnified, perhaps distorted. One of his most distinguishing characteristics is that he has in multifarious enterprises for many years staked his interests on the growth and prosperity of the country. Certainly no public prejudices have heretofore been aroused because one has won largely by betting on the United States. There are thousands of stockholders who have not been guilty to any extent of this offense, such as it is. That is, they have not more than their share of money. The Western Union stock has paid dividends with regularity, and the stock has stood at comparatively low figures, because so much of the value is not in a form that recommends itself to the average capitalist as solid. It takes a wise man of money to understand that good will is an element that fire cannot destroy or an earthquake overthrow. Dr. Johnson's eloquence at the auction of the brewery, when he declared they did not sell simply a few tubs, but "the potentiality of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice," is not well and truly appreciated in the financial circles that establish prices. The multitude of small investors in the Western Union Telegraph have done nothing that they should be deprived of their savings by the general Government. But they, and not the large holders, are likely to be the sufferers in chief if the policy of breaking down private interests under false pretense and fatal doctrines of public policy, should become the leading feature of the administration of our great and beneficent Government.

It would not be sufficient to meet the views of those who seek to expand the official functions by undertaking to serve all the people with telegrams, to run wires into each of the places where the Morse instrument is already heard, it would be necessary to add forty-five thousand stations, or one for each post-office now beyond the scope of the telegraph. If telegraphing is to be done by the people and for the people, it must be done for all the people

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wherever they are, whether they have any telegraphing to do or not.

The official figures of the postal telegraph cost, expenditure and deficiencies in Great Britain are as follows :

Year ending March 31st.	Receipts.	By telegraph departments.	By other departments.	Total Expenses.	Interest on capital.	Deficit.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1881	1,633,887	1,242,092	66,362	1,308,454	326,417	984
1882	1,654,390	1,365,632	74,866	1,440,498	326,417	112,525
1883	1,768,070	1,504,204	79,673	1,583 877	326,417	142,224
1884	1,789,223	1,709,644	99,276	1,808,920	326,417	346,114
1885	1,784,414	1,431,040	89,724	1,820.764	326,417	362,767
1886	1,787,264	1,733,104	99,297	1,832,401	326,417	371,554
1887	1,887,224	1,939,768	90,879	2,030,647	326,417	469,840

Even in so small and thickly settled a country as England the alleged accommodation of the people by telegraph is at a public loss of more than two millions of dollars annually.

When we consider the prodigious extent of this country and its scattered population, it is not extravagant to assume that under our inevitable methods and unavoidable conditions, the deficiency in Great Britain might be multiplied by ten, and though it is often said, with a confidence that is airy in proportion as information is imperfect, that the plant of the Western Union could be duplicated for one-fourth of the capital, there is sound reason for believing this estimate greatly at fault, and that the construction of a Government telegraph reaching all the post-offices would require a great deal more cash than the aggregate capital of the Western Union Company.

The system that is urged as a reform proposes an enormous original investment, an extravagant and permanent deficiency, a departure from safe principles, and a dangerous invasion of personal rights, with the probability that the telegraphic service would not be as well performed by the Government as by the corporation it is the passion of the advocates of the enlargement of the postal facilities to raid.

It takes six times the length of wire and three times as many persons in this country to transact the same amount of business by telegraph that is done in England.

The regular rate of telegraphing in England is one cent a word, but this includes in the count address and signature, and Dr. Green, President of the Western Union Telegraph Company, shows how business messages run in this country, as follows :

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BOSTON, Mass., *November* 23, 1887.
(9 words.)

John J. Dickey, Telegraph Supt., Washington, D. C.: (8 words.)

Ascertain and wire me amount our telegraph receipts last week. (10 words.)

CHAS. FRANCIS ADAMS, Prest.
(4 words.)

Total, 31 words; British rate, 1s. 2d. (31 cts.). W. U. rate, 25 cts.

This is a fair and by no means exaggerated example. Many have longer addresses where the street address is included, and longer signatures to express the official rank or title of the sender, as for instance:

NEWPORT NEWS, Va., *November* 23, 1887.
(9 words.)

C. P. Huntington, Vice-Prest. & Gen'l. Mgr., 263 Park Ave., New York City:
(14 words.)

Arrange transportation for twelve hundred fifty immigrants for San Jose, Cal.

(10 words).

SAM'L. F. D. JOHNSON,
Asst. Gen'l Pass. Agt.
(8 words.)

Total, 41 words; British rate, 1s. 8¼d. (41 cts). W. U. rate, 25 cts.

In the transaction of telegraphic business in Great Britain, there is a loss of $6\frac{1}{10}$ cents per message, and not two per cent. of the people ever send a telegram. The whole country is taxed for the exclusive benefit of this small fraction of population. Is this an example to be imitated and augmented? Its discrimination for the few and against the many, adopted by us, would be increased, as our territory is greater and more difficult of access than the British islands.

The precise percentage of the people who use the telegraph is not known, as there are no provisions for the collection of complete statistical information. The estimates vary from one to two per cent., and if the Government should put wires into every post-office, or even into every house, not one citizen in ten would have annual occasion to employ them.

The President of the Western Union Telegraph Company says in a letter written to the Postmaster General in November last:

"It is estimated that not more than two per cent. of the entire population ever use the telegraph in any one year, and not over five per cent. of the revenues of the telegraph is derived

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from family and social messages. About eight per cent. is derived from news service, and the remainder, about eighty-seven per cent., is commercial and speculative, the greater part being the latter. Buying and selling of 'puts' and 'calls,' stocks and cereals, where no transportation and often no delivery is ever made, can scarcely be called legitimate commerce, and certainly not Inter-State commerce. Amongst these, a large class of customers, paying a considerable percentage of the revenues for telegraph service, are the 'bucket shops,' selling and buying, forfeiting margins when they expire, settling, when the customers shall demand, at the quoted price of the instant, and no delivery is ever pretended to be made.

"Another large class of customers are the patrons of the race-courses and the pool rooms connected therewith by wires; where chances are bought and sold in all the cities, some of which are a thousand miles from the scene of the contest."

The rates at which messages are dispatched in this country are reasonable, and bear favorable comparison with the charges made where telegraphy is official. The profits on telegraphing in the United States are small, and only possible at all from the large volume of business handled with the finest intelligence and consummate skill. In character, in promptness, accuracy, general accommodation, and accountability, the telegraphic service in the United States is the best in the world, and at once unofficial and responsible. We may put the operators and the clerks, the battery men and the pole and wire men into uniforms, for identification and decoration, and add a force equal to two army corps to the grand army of our public service; and we will do it at the expense of the people at large, for the benefit of not more, at the most liberal estimation, than one-fifieth of their number, while the general result will be a demoralized business, provision for a deficiency of many millions a year, and the opening of a fresh and boundless field for the absorption of the earnings of all industries by a class, and the further and profligate illustration of the meddlesome incapacities of Government engaged in functions that are too complex, delicate, and partial to be legitimate, unless we reverse our great principle, that the Government is for the people, and that the less we have of it consistent with order the better, and begin anew with the assumption that the people are for the Government.

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A mass of error has been disseminated like a vapor over the land, to the effect that the Western Union Telegraph Company is in control of the press, and regulates according to the prejudices and caprices and interests of a corporation the diffusion of intelligence—that the news of the day is doctored by the alleged monopolists of the wires! This is all false presumption, and upon foundation thus fabricated is based the demand that the Government should seize the tyrannous telegraph and emancipate the press, which, it is presumed, is groaning under oppression and struggling toward light and knowledge.

The press service by the telegraph in this country is at lower rates and better done, as well as far more extensive and complicated, and greater in magnitude and diversity, than in Great Britain or any other nation of the earth. This service is impartial and absolutely in the hands of the press itself—the wires being simply channels of transmission open to all on equal terms—the officers of the Telegraph Company having nothing more to do with the significance or influence of the matter dispatched than the operators who give or take the words, true or false, as they fly. The newspapers are organized for purposes of co-operation, and their Associations contract for a certain number of words to be taken and delivered at and between places that are named, during hours of the day and night specified, and the words are furnished by the agents of the press, who are not employed by or responsible in any sense to the telegraph company, whose whole obligation is performed and authority exhausted in furnishing facility for speedy and correct communication. The steady tendency of press rates has been downward, and this has been especially marked within the last eight years, the reduction within that period having been from fifty to seventy-five per cent. all around. The Associated Press contracts, open to all associations, are on the basis of one-half cent per word for first three hundred miles and one-sixteenth for each additional one hundred miles, and one-eighth of a cent per word for each drop. At night, one-quarter cent for first three hundred miles and balance same as day, regardless of the number of papers served in any one place. The special rates to individual newspapers are based on the commercial rates, being one-third the additional word rate on day specials, and one-sixth the additional word rate on night specials. That is where the commercial tariff is twenty-

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five cents for the first ten words and two cents for each additional word, the day press rate would be one-third of two cents and the night rate one-sixth of two cents, and so on; the highest commercial rate being 100 and 7. Under this low rate many newspapers get a few hundred words per week, while large ones get many thousands per day, the rate being the same to all, without stipulation as to the number of words sent. Frequently dispatches are so short (three or four words or so) that the tolls do not pay messengers. All are on the same footing as to rates, except that small papers are allowed to have Associated Press news *en route* to large places at exceptionally low figures—what they can pay, in fact. There could be no method of distributing the news invented more generous toward the weak or impartial in the competition of the strong than this.

If the hands of the Government are to be placed upon the telegraph, the act will be without the warrant of a public grievance; but the National authority will be urged by implacable cranks or adventurous demagogues, or those who have been possessed by an ignorant philosophy as an instrument of vengeance upon individual enterprise, the magnitude of whose success has provoked a confused animosity. The scheme of Government telegraphy is one of confiscation and centralization, and the leading proposition is to tax fifty-nine millions of the people of the United States for the benefit of the sixtieth million, to tax the quietly invested and active capital and the productive industry, the capitalist of courage and the workingman of thrift, for the help of the gamblers of the Wall streets great and small, and of the race-courses, and slugging rings, and base-ball games, the pool-room sharps of every degree, the great patrons of the telegraph, who keep the wires heated with messages, the primary purpose of which is to take advantage of the people at large—first knowledge being the power that milks the markets of the world and shears the lambs thereof, whether in the cities or the green pastures.

Is it worth while for this to redouble our Standing Army of the Civil Service and to give to the administration of the general government the opportunity no one has ever had under our Republican system, of parceling out and coloring the news distributed to the people—a machine more formidable than was ever seen in our political seed or harvest times?

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If this step is taken, we enter upon a current of logical procedure whose drift would be immediately certain and presently irresistible. It would mean the absorption of the express companies—for the "parcels post," which is "so English, you know," is as attractive as the postal telegraph—and next come the railroads, and beyond, the order in which the telephone and the street car, the newspapers and the steamboats and flouring mills, may be taken up, is wholly immaterial.

If this line of reformation is to prevail, it is only a question of time when permits with stamps on them will be required of the farmers before it shall be lawful to plant corn.

MURAT HALSTEAD.

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ART AND MORALITY.

ART is the highest form of expression, and exists for the sake of expression. Through art thoughts become visible. Back of the forms is the desire, the longing, the brooding, creative instinct, the maternity of mind, the passion that gives pose and swell, outline and color.

Of course there is no such thing as absolute beauty or absolute morality. We now clearly perceive that beauty and conduct are relative. We have outgrown the provincialism that thought is back of substance, as well as the old Platonic absurdity, that ideas existed before the subjects of thought. So far, at least, as man is concerned, his thoughts have been produced by his surroundings, by the action and inter-action of things upon his mind; and so far as man is concerned, things have preceded thoughts. The impressions that these things make upon us are what we know of them. The absolute is beyond the human mind. Our knowledge is confined to the relations that exist between the totality of things that we call the universe and the effect upon ourselves.

Actions are deemed right or wrong according to experience and the conclusions of reason. Things are beautiful by the relation that certain forms, colors, and modes of expression bear to us. At the foundation of the beautiful will be found the fact of happiness, the gratification of the senses, the delight of intellectual discovery and the surprise and thrill of appreciation. That which we call the beautiful wakens into life through the association of ideas, of memories, of experiences—through suggestions of pleasure past and the perception that the prophesies of the ideal have been fulfilled.

Art cultivates and kindles the imagination, and quickens the conscience. It is by imagination that we put ourselves in the place of another. When the wings of that faculty are folded,

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the master does not put himself in the place of the slave; the tyrant is not locked in the dungeon, chained with his victim. The inquisitor did not feel the flames that devoured the martyr. The imaginative man, giving to the beggar, gives to himself. Those who feel indignant at the perpetration of wrong, feel for the instant that they are the victims; and when they attack the aggressor they feel that they are defending themselves. Love and pity are the children of the imagination.

A little while ago I heard a discussion in regard to the genius of George Eliot. The gentleman who appeared as her champion took the ground that she was a very great novelist, a most wonderful writer, and gave as a reason that her books were written with a distinct moral purpose; that she was endeavoring to inculcate the value of character, of integrity, of an absolute and utter devotion to duty, to the glory and heroism of self-denial; that she did not create characters for the sake of Art, but that under all, and in all, and over all, was the desire to teach and enforce some moral truth.

Upon this very question George Eliot has given her views with great force and beauty: "On its theoretic and perceptive side, morality touches science; on its emotional side, art. Now, the products of art are great in proportion as they result from that immediate prompting of innate power which we call genius, and not from labored obedience to a theory or rule; and the presence of genius, or innate prompting, is directly opposed to the perpetual consciousness of a rule. The action of faculty is imperious, and excludes the reflection *why* it should act. In the same way, in proportion as morality is emotional, *i. e.*, has affinity with art, it will exhibit itself in direct sympathetic feeling and action, and not as the recognition of a rule. Love does not say, 'I ought to love;' it loves. Pity does not say, 'It is right to be pitiful;' it pities. Justice does not say, 'I am bound to be just;' it feels justly. It is only where moral emotion is comparatively weak, that the contemplation of a rule or theory mingles with its action, and in accordance with this we think experience, both in literature and life, has shown that the minds which are pre-eminently didactic, which insist on a 'lesson,' and despise everything that will not convey a moral, are deficient in sympathetic emotion." * *

"A certain poet is recorded to have said that he 'wished every-

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thing of his burned that did not impress some moral; even in love-verses it might be flung in by the way.' What poet was it who took this medicinal view of poetry? Dr. Watts, or James Montgomery, or some other singer of spotless life and ardent piety? Not at all. It was Waller. A significant fact in relation to our position, that the predominant didactic tendency proceeds rather from the poet's perception that it is good for other men to be moral, than from any overflow of moral feeling in himself. A man who is perpetually thinking in apothegms, who has an unintermittent flux of admonition, can have little energy left for simple emotion."

This tendency, this "disposition to see a rebuke or a warning in every natural object," was called by George Eliot the "pedagogic fallacy;" and yet a gentleman well acquainted with her writings gives a reason for the admiration he entertains for her genius that she would have repudiated with the greatest warmth.

Nothing to the true artist, to the real genius, is so contemptible as the "medicinal view."

John Quincy Adams had the goodness to write his views about some of the plays of Shakespeare. He read "Othello," and read it for the purpose of finding out what lesson Shakespeare was endeavoring to teach. Mr. Adams gravely tells us that the play was written for two purposes; first, to impress upon the minds of men and maidens that no one should marry out of his or her blood; and second, that where a girl married contrary to the wishes of her parents she rarely ever came to any good. He regarded Shakespeare very much as he did a New England minister, and supposed that he wrote "those plays" for the purpose of inducing children to mind their mothers.

Probably Mr. Adams believed that "Romeo and Juliet" was written for the one purpose of bringing vividly before the mind the danger of love at first sight, and that "Lear," the greatest tragedy in human speech, was produced to show that fathers could not safely divide their property among their children.

Our fathers read with great approbation the mechanical sermons in rhyme written by Milton, Young and Pollok. Those theological poets wrote for the purpose of convincing their readers that the mind of man is diseased, filled with infirmities, and that poetic poultices and plasters tend to purify and strengthen the moral nature of the human race.

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Poems were written to prove that the practice of virtue was an investment for another world, and that whoever followed the advice found in those solemn, insincere and lugubrious rhymes, although he might be exceedingly unhappy in this world, would with great certainty be rewarded in the next. These writers assumed that there was a kind of relation between rhyme and religion, between verse and virtue ; and that it was their duty to call the attention of the world to all the snares and pitfalls of pleasure. They wrote with a purpose. They had a distinct moral end in view. They had a plan. They were missionaries, and their object was to show the world how wicked it was and how good they, the writers, were. They could not conceive of a man being so happy that everything in nature partook of his feeling; that all the birds were singing for him, and singing by reason of his joy; that everything sparkled and shone and moved in the glad rhythm of his heart. They could not appreciate this feeling. They could not think of this joy guiding the artist's hand, seeking expression in form and color. They did not look upon poems, pictures, and statues as results, as children of the brain fathered by sea and sky, by flower and star, by love and light. They were not moved by gladness. They felt the responsibility of perpetual duty. They had a desire to teach, to sermonize, to point out and exaggerate the faults of others and to describe the virtues practiced by themselves. Art became a colporteur, a distributer of tracts, a mendicant missionary whose highest ambition was to suppress all heathen joy.

Happy people were supposed to have forgotten, in a reckless moment, duty and responsibility. True poetry would call them back to a realization of their meanness and their misery. It was the skeleton at the feast, the rattle of whose bones had a rhythmic sound. It was the forefinger of warning and doom held up in the presence of a smile.

These moral poets taught the unwelcome truths, and by the paths of life put posts on which they painted hands pointing at graves. They loved to see the pallor on the cheek of youth, while they talked, in solemn tones, of age, decrepitude and lifeless clay.

Before the eyes of love they thrust, with eager hands, the skull of death. They crushed the flowers beneath their feet and plaited crowns of thorns for every brow.

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According to these poets, happiness was inconsistent with virtue. The sense of infinite obligation should be perpetually present. They assumed an attitude of superiority. They denounced and calumniated the reader. They enjoyed his confusion when charged with total depravity. They loved to paint the sufferings of the lost, the worthlessness of human life, the littleness of mankind, and the beauties of an unknown world. They knew but little of the heart. They did not know that without passion there is no virtue and that the really passionate are the virtuous.

Art has nothing to do directly with morality or immorality. It is its own excuse for being; it exists for itself.

The artist who endeavors to enforce a lesson, becomes a preacher; and the artist who tries by hint and suggestion to enforce the immoral, becomes a pander.

There is an infinite difference between the nude and the naked, between the natural and the undressed. In the presence of the pure, unconscious nude, nothing can be more contemptible than those forms in which are the hints and suggestions of drapery, the pretence of exposure, and the failure to conceal. The undressed is vulgar, the nude is pure.

The old Greek statues, frankly, proudly nude, whose free and perfect limbs have never known the sacrilege of clothes, were and are as free from taint, as pure, as stainless, as the image of the morning star trembling in a drop of perfumed dew.

Morality is the harmony between act and circumstance. It is the melody of conduct. A wonderful statue is the melody of proportion. A great picture is the melody of form and color. A great statue does not suggest labor; it seems to have been created as a joy. A great painting suggests no weariness and no effort; the greater, the easier it seems. So a great and splendid life seems to have been without effort. There is in it no idea of obligation, no idea of responsibility or of duty. The idea of duty changes to a kind of drudgery that which should be, in the perfect man, a perfect pleasure.

The artist, working simply for the sake of enforcing a moral, becomes a laborer. The freedom of genius is lost, and the artist is absorbed in the citizen. The soul of the real artist should be moved by this melody of proportion as the body is unconsciously swayed by the rhythm of a symphony. No one can imagine that

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the great men who chiseled the statues of antiquity intended to teach the youth of Greece to be obedient to their parents. We cannot believe that Michael Angelo painted his grotesque and somewhat vulgar "Day of Judgment" for the purpose of reforming Italian thieves. The subject was in all probability selected by his employer, and the treatment was a question of art, without the slightest reference to the moral effect, even upon priests. We are perfectly certain that Corot painted those infinitely poetic landscapes, those cottages, those sad poplars, those leafless vines on weather-tinted walls, those quiet pools, those contented cattle, those fields flecked with light, over which bend the skies, tender as the breast of a mother, without once thinking of the ten commandments. There is the same difference between moral art and the product of true genius, that there is between prudery and virtue.

The novelists who endeavor to enforce what they are pleased to call "moral truths," cease to be artists. They create two kinds of characters—types and caricatures. The first never has lived, and the second never will. The real artist produces neither. In his pages you will find individuals, natural people, who have the contradictions and inconsistencies inseparable from humanity. The great artists "hold the mirror up to nature," and this mirror reflects with absolute accuracy. The moral and the immoral writers—that is to say, those who have some object besides that of art—use convex or concave mirrors, or those with uneven surfaces, and the result is that the images are monstrous and deformed. The little novelist and the little artist deal either in the impossible or the exceptional. The men of genius touch the universal. Their words and works throb in unison with the great ebb and flow of things. They write and work for all races and for all time.

It has been the object of thousands of reformers to destroy the passions, to do away with desires; and could this object be accomplished, life would become a burden, with but one desire; that is to say, the desire for extinction. Art in its highest forms increases passion, gives tone and color and zest to life. But, while it increases passion, it refines. It extends the horizon. The bare necessities of life constitute a prison, a dungeon. Under the influence of art the walls expand, the roof rises, and it becomes a temple.

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Art is not a sermon, and the artist is not a preacher. Art accomplishes by indirection. The beautiful refines. The perfect in art suggests the perfect in conduct. The harmony in music teaches without intention the lesson of proportion in life. The bird in his song has no moral purpose, and yet the influence is humanizing. The beautiful in nature acts through appreciation and sympathy. It does not browbeat, neither does it humiliate. It is beautiful without regard to you. Roses would be unbearable if in their red and perfumed hearts were mottoes to the effect that bears eat bad boys and that honesty is the best policy.

Art creates an atmosphere in which the proprieties, the amenities, and the virtues unconsciously grow. The rain does not lecture the seed. The light does not make rules for the vine and flower.

The heart is softened by the pathos of the perfect.

The world is a dictionary of the mind, and in this dictionary of things genius discovers analogies, resemblances, and parallels amid opposites, likeness in difference, and corroboration in contradiction. Language is but a multitude of pictures. Nearly every word is a work of art, a picture represented by a sound, and this sound represented by a mark, and this mark gives not only the sound, but the picture of something in the outward world and the picture of something within the mind, and with these words which were once pictures, other pictures are made.

The greatest pictures and the greatest statues, the most wonderful and marvelous groups, have been painted and chiseled with words. They are as fresh to-day as when they fell from human lips. Penelope still ravels, weaves, and waits; Ulysses' bow is bent, and through the level rings the eager arrow flies; Cordelia's tears are falling now. The greatest gallery of the world is found in Shakespeare's book. The pictures and the marbles of the Vatican and Louvre are faded, crumbling things, compared with his, in which perfect color gives to perfect form the glow and movement of passion's highest life.

Everything except the truth wears, and needs to wear, a mask. Little souls are ashamed of nature. Prudery pretends to have only those passions that it cannot feel. Moral poetry is like a respectable canal that never overflows its banks. It has weirs through which slowly and without damage any excess of feeling is allowed to flow. It makes excuses for nature, and regards love

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as an interesting convict. Moral art paints or chisels feet, faces, and rags. It regards the body as obscene. It hides with drapery what it has not the genius purely to portray. Mediocrity becomes moral from a necessity which it has the impudence to call virtue. It pretends to regard ignorance as the foundation of purity and insists that virtue seeks the companionship of the blind.

Art creates, combines, and reveals. It is the highest manifestation of thought, of passion, of love, of intuition. It is the highest form of expression, of history and prophesy. It allows us to look at an unmasked soul, to fathom the abysses of passion, to understand the heights and depths of love.

Compared with what is in the mind of man, the outward world almost ceases to excite our wonder. The impression produced by mountains, seas, and stars is not so great, so thrilling, as the music of Wagner. The constellations themselves grow small when we read "Troilus and Cressida," "Hamlet" or "Lear." What are seas and stars in the presence of a heroism that holds pain and death as naught? What are seas and stars compared with human hearts? What is the quarry compared with the statue?

Art civilizes because it enlightens, develops, strengthens, and ennobles. It deals with the beautiful, with the passionate, with the ideal. It is the child of the heart. To be great it must deal with the human. It must be in accordance with the experience, with the hopes, with the fears, and with the possibilities of man. No one cares to paint a palace, because there is nothing in such a picture to touch the heart. It tells of responsibility, of the prison of the conventional. It suggests a load, it tells of apprehension, of weariness and ennui. The picture of a cottage, over which runs a vine, a little home thatched with content, with its simple life, its natural sunshine and shadow, its trees bending with fruit, its hollyhocks and pinks, its happy children, its hum of bees, is a poem—a smile in the desert of this world.

The great lady, in velvet and jewels, makes but a poor picture. There is not freedom enough in her life. She is constrained. She is too far away from the simplicity of happiness. In her thought there is too much of the mathematical. In all art you will find a touch of chaos, of liberty; and there is in all artists a little of the vagabond—that is to say, genius.

The nude in art has rendered holy the beauty of woman. Every Greek statue pleads for mothers and sisters. From these

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marbles come strains of music. They have filled the heart of man with tenderness and worship. They have kindled reverence, admiration, and love. The Venus de Milo, that even mutilation cannot mar, tends only to the elevation of our race. It is a miracle of majesty and beauty, the supreme idea of the supreme woman. It is a melody in marble. All the lines meet in a kind of voluptuous and glad content. The pose is rest itself. The eyes are filled with thoughts of love. The breast seems dreaming of a child.

The prudent is not the poetic; it is the mathematical. Genius is the spirit of abandon; it is joyous, irresponsible. It moves in the swell and curve of billows; it is careless of conduct and consequence. For a moment, the chain of cause and effect seems broken; the soul is free. It gives an account not even to itself. Limitations are forgotten; nature seems obedient to the will; the ideal alone exists; the universe is a symphony.

Every brain is a gallery of art, and every soul is, to a greater or less degree, an artist. The pictures and statues that now enrich and adorn the walls and niches of the world, as well as those that illuminate the pages of its literature, were taken originally from the private galleries of the brain.

The soul—that is to say the artist—compares the pictures in its own brain with the pictures that have been taken from the galleries of others and made visible. This soul, this artist, selects that which is nearest perfection in each, takes such parts as it deems perfect, puts them together, forms new pictures, new statues, and in this way creates the ideal.

To express desires, longings, ecstacies, prophecies, and passions in form and color; to put love, hope, heroism, and triumph in marble; to paint dreams and memories with words; to portray the purity of dawn, the intensity and glory of noon, the tenderness of twilight, the splendor and mystery of night, with sounds; to give the invisible to sight and touch, and to enrich the common things of earth with gems and jewels of the mind—this is Art.

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

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CONTRACTION, AND THE REMEDY.

MONEY is a universal order for property and a legal tender in payment of debts. Its value depends not upon the material of which it is made, but upon the number of dollars, or other units of money, in circulation. If the number of dollars in circulation were doubled, each dollar would lose a part of its purchasing power, and the price of property would advance. On the other hand, if the circulating medium were reduced one-half, the purchasing power of each dollar would be greatly increased, and the price of property correspondingly depressed.

It is assumed, and not without some reason, that governments cannot be trusted to regulate the amount of the circulating medium, and that it is necessary to use a material obtainable only by labor, and of which a supply in excess of the demand cannot be furnished. Gold and silver were selected as money metals, and were jointly used as the basis of a circulating medium for more than two thousand years previous to 1875. If the quantity of these metals had at all times borne the same ratio to population it would have furnished a just measure of the value of property and secured an honest adjustment of contracts. Unfortunately, the unequal production of these metals has sometimes caused expansion and sometimes contraction. Notwithstanding this, no general consent has been given for the adoption of any other standard for fixing the amount of the circulating medium.

For centuries previous to 1875, debts were contracted with the understanding that they might be paid in either gold or silver. A debt, in the language of the street, is a "short" sale of money. It is an agreement to deliver at a future time that which the person making the promise does not possess. Debtors took the risk, while the two metals were used, of an increase or diminution of the circulating medium which might result from the varying supply of these metals, but they did not contract with a view of

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the disuse of either. There is evidence to show that at the commencement of the Christian Era the amount of gold and silver in circulation in the Roman Empire (then the civilized world) was very great—perhaps as much as two billion dollars. Between that time and the discovery of gold and silver in Mexico and South America, wear, loss, and consumption in the arts, reduced the circulation more than one hundred million dollars each century. During all that period of contraction more property was required to liquidate a debt on the day of payment than would have satisfied the demand when the contract was made. Wages were reduced from year to year, until at the end of fifteen centuries the laborer found himself a feudal slave.

The supply of the precious metals from the New World furnished the debtor an opportunity to free himself from the bondage in which contraction had held him for so many generations. Labor and all its products advanced in price. Between the years 1500 and 1800, this new supply kept pace with the growth of population; man was aroused from degraded barbarism by the vitalizing influence of a gradual and constant increase in the volume of money; the march of civilization was strong, vigorous, and constant.

About the beginning of the present century the supply of gold and silver was greatly diminished by the Spanish-American wars. Contraction followed and continued until 1850, when the average price of labor and its products reached its lowest point within a century. The financial depression of that eventful period is still fresh in the memory of living men.

From 1850 to 1875, the discoveries of gold in California, Australia, and elsewhere swelled the annual production of the two metals to near two hundred millions. The effect upon trade, commerce, and every industry throughout the world was electrical. Notwithstanding the Crimean War, the Italian War, the War for the Union, the Austrian-Prussian, and the Franco-Prussian wars, and many other smaller wars, wealth and population advanced without a parallel in history. The value of property in the United States rose from seven billions, in 1850, to over thirty-one billions, in 1870. The average price of labor and its products rose more than 33⅓ per cent. The best energies of man in industry, science, and art were stimulated to their full capacity by an abundant circulating medium.

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Since 1875, the average price of commodities has declined over 30 per cent., and is now lower than in 1850. The impetus given to progress during the twenty-five years of an abundant circulating medium is no longer felt. The civilized world is trembling on the verge of bankruptcy. Labor strikes, financial distress, and universal depression proclaim in language not to be misunderstood the evils to come if no remedy can be devised. Prosperity has been checked, and the world filled with misery and alarm by the contraction resulting from the disuse of one of the precious metals as money.

When the supply of gold was most abundant from California and Australia, Chevalier, of France, and other political economists of Europe, contended that the use of gold as money was unjust to the creditor class, and particularly the bondholders; that it would drive silver, then considered the better metal, out of the country, and that it was the duty of all governments to demonetize gold. Holland and Belgium yielded, and adopted the silver standard. Austria and Germany, in 1857, excluded gold from their mints, and thereby demonetized that metal to the extent of their power.

The increased production of silver during 1871–73 indicated that it would become more plentiful than gold. The arguments used in advocating the demonetization of gold when it was the more plentiful metal were in turn urged against silver. Between 1871 and 1875 the bondholders prevailed upon the United States and every government in Europe to exclude silver from their mints, and thereby secured its demonetization. The motive for this action was avarice. There were not less than one hundred billions of debts, public and private, in the civilized world, which by the terms of the contracts were payable in either gold or silver at the option of the debtor. The demonetization of silver compelled payment in gold alone, and about doubled the value of bonds and other securities, and increased to the same extent the days of labor and amount of property required to liquidate these vast obligations.

Since 1875 the annual supply of the precious metals has been fully two hundred millions, but one-half of it has been discarded as a money metal by every mint in the United States and Europe. Silver has been driven to Asia for a market. There has been no demand for it elsewhere for use as money except the twenty-four millions annually required for coinage, under the act of 1878.

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The total production of silver since 1873, when it was practically demonetized, although not excluded from all the mints and reduced to a commodity until 1875, has been about one thousand six hundred millions. The product of gold during the same period has been equal to that of silver, making a grand total of about three thousand two hundred millions. About two hundred and eighty millions of silver has been coined by the United States. The remaining one thousand three hundred millions has been discarded by governmental action, for which no other reason has been given than that furnished by Chevalier and others for the demonetization of gold.

What other reason can be assigned for the present decline of prices, stagnation, and hard times, than this enormous contraction of the world's money? Favorable seasons and universal peace cannot have produced it.

In the recent report of Edward Atkinson, who was appointed by the President to visit Europe during last year "to investigate the status of bi-metallism," the following appears:

"I have met and consulted many of the financial ministers, the chief officers of all the national banks in the countries named, except one, namely, that of Holland; many officers of private banks and many bankers of distinction, most of the members of the Royal Gold and Silver Commission of Great Britain, which is now engaged in the examination of the same question, and lastly, many leading economists, statisticians, and legislators" (p. 3).

He informs the President, as a result of these interviews, that there is no prospect of the remonetization of silver in Europe. Did anybody doubt what his report would be after consultation with the persons named? It would be absurd to expect any other advice from the class of persons who destroyed silver for the avowed purpose of enhancing the value of bonds. Why should Mr. Atkinson be sent to Europe to ascertain what everybody already knew? Why did he seek advice from the class of persons who forged and riveted the chains of contraction by which the people of the United States are being dragged to financial ruin? Have the people on this side of the Atlantic no right to be consulted? The question has never been asked them whether they prefer the demonetization of silver and perpetual contraction, or the use of both metals and a liberal supply of circulating medium. The whole matter has been arranged by the bondholders and their

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servants without regard to the wishes of the people. The assumption that the United States is dependent upon Europe for a circulating medium is as false as it is degrading. It is the duty of this Government to have an independent financial policy. Europe will never provide for the people of the United States.

It is now possible to obtain a liberal supply of money on a metallic basis—an opportunity rarely, if ever, enjoyed by any nation. All that is required to remonetize silver is for the United States to receive that metal in exchange for money at the standard value established by law. Silver would then be at par throughout the world, for no one would sell it for a less price in Europe, Asia, or Africa, than could be obtained in the United States. The objections that the United States would be flooded with silver, or that gold would be driven out of the country, have no foundation. The amount of silver bullion in Europe and America is trifling, probably less than ten millions. The fear of further depreciation by governmental action causes its shipment to Asia as fast as produced. The entire mass of coin silver, exclusive of debased subsidiary coin in all Europe, is less than one billion dollars. This coin silver is circulating as a full legal tender on a par with gold at the ratio between the two metals of fifteen and a half to one. Our ratio is about sixteen to one. It would require an ounce of gold to buy fifteen and a half ounces of silver coin in Europe. The fifteen and a half ounces so purchased could not be exchanged at the United States mint for an ounce of gold; it would require the addition of one-half ounce of silver before the ounce of gold expended in Europe could be returned, a loss of over three per cent., besides exchange. A large supply of silver from Europe cannot be expected. The probability is that the supply will not equal the demand, and that after the remonetization of silver, greenbacks must remain in circulation and be increased, rather than diminished.

The bondholders' contention, that the price of silver has depreciated on account of overproduction, is refuted by the facts. Between the years 1500 and 1846, two-thirds of the aggregate production of the two metals was silver; from 1846 to 1850 their production was equal; from 1850 to 1875, two-thirds of the aggregate production was gold; from 1875 until now their production has been about equal. For two hundred years previous to 1875 the ratio between the two metals was compara-

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tively stationary at about fifteen and one-half ounces of silver to one of gold. Since silver has been demonetized it has fallen, as compared with gold, nearly thirty per cent., although the ratio of production of silver to gold has been much less than it was in the two hundred years preceding its demonetization. It can be easily shown that every change in the relative value of the two metals has been the result of legislation, and not of production.

It would require several hundred millions additional circulation to furnish sufficient money per capita to relieve present necessities and secure an honest adjustment of contracts. The paper money in and out of the Treasury amounts to over six hundred millions. The substitution of coin, or, what is better, coin certificates, for this paper, must be satisfactory to the advocates of metallic money. The issuance of five hundred millions of coin certificates upon the deposit of bullion, would cost the Government nothing, revive every enterprise, increase wages, and secure peace and contentment.

The expense of coining and the wear and loss of coin while in circulation would be avoided by the use of coin certificates. The constant shrinkage of the supply of the precious metals from these causes admonishes us that contraction may be produced in like manner in the future as in the past. There can be no loss of bullion stored in the vaults of the Treasury; its commercial value to settle balances with foreign countries is greater in that shape than in coin. The loss of the coin certificates in circulation would more than compensate the United States for assaying and storing the bullion, and furnishing the certificates for circulation free of charge.

I challenge the opponents of silver to propose a better monetary system than the one above suggested. The National Bank plan has already proven to be a failure. It does not furnish an honest measure for the adjustment of contracts, or tend to maintain an even range of prices by providing at all times the same amount of money per capita; on the contrary, the amount of circulation furnished by the National Banks is constantly fluctuating and altogether inadequate. According to the report of the Comptroller of the Currency, there has been a decrease in National Bank circulation since November 1st, 1883, of about one hundred and fifty millions. No attempt whatever has been

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made by legislation to adopt any system whereby the circulation should be made to correspond to the increase of population. The whole matter seems to have been left to accident or the manipulation of stock jobbers.

With no monetary system proposed looking to the regular supply of a circulating medium, and while the country is trembling on the brink of financial ruin, we are told that Europe declines to discuss with us the proposition of using silver as money, and that, therefore, we must adhere to the single gold standard without regard to consequences.

If silver is not used for money, and gold is the only standard, the alternative is presented either to discard gold, as well as silver, and devise some other system, or sink into barbarism for want of an adequate circulating medium. The supply of gold is constantly decreasing. From 1871 to 1875, the annual production of gold, according to Dr. Adolf Soetbeer, the German statistician, was over one hundred and thirteen millions, while during the last five years it probably has not exceeded ninety millions. The Director of the Mint, whose estimates, I fear, are very much exaggerated, puts it much less than one hundred millions. It is a fact known to bullion producers that at least one-third of the output of gold comes from silver mines, where it is found in combination with that metal. When these mines are closed, as they must be by the continued fall in the price of silver if that metal is not remonetized, the decline in the production of gold will be enormous.

The situation imperatively demands that both metals be discarded, or that both be used together as money. If this demand is not heeded the calamities in store for mankind resulting from violent and continued contraction cannot be over-estimated.

WM. M. STEWART.

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"THE GENIUS OF BATTLE."

FROUDE speaks of Newman as the embodiment of subtlety, because when an Oxford curate in his Anglican days, the Cardinal would preach an apparently harmless sermon, to develop some one phrase which might unsettle the faith of the young men from whose ecclesiastical communion he was contemplating a withdrawal. General W. F. Smith's article on "The Genius of Battle" in the February number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW is open to the same criticism. Reduced to its final analysis, the article may be summed up in two sentences:

> "M. Thiers . . . says when war is conducted as a purely mechanical routine . . . it is hardly worthy of history." "War conducted as a mechanical routine was perfectly exhibited in the 'Campaign of Attrition,' inaugurated by General Grant on the 5th of May, 1864."

These two sentences, General Smith, in imitation of the subtle purpose attributed to Cardinal Newman, has written a whole article to embody.

General Smith belongs to a class of patriotic, hopeful, and intelligent men, who, having had in the war as good an opportunity as Grant, Sherman, and Thomas, gave their minds to other than military duties, and now spend much time in explaining why they failed. In 1861, General Smith was one of a hundred promising youths, with a military education, of whom far more was expected than from Grant or Sheridan. After winning reputation as a builder of pontoon bridges, and special commendation and promotion from Grant, General Smith was unfortunate enough to lose the confidence of his chief, and with it further opportunity of usefulness. History would be content to close the General's military career with this cold statement. But the General is impatient with history as it is, and is busy in writing it as he would like it to be. According to the new chronicles,

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having failed in the war, except as a builder of pontoon bridges, none of those who succeeded were true generals, while Grant especially, in the words of Thiers, "was hardly worthy of history." What gives a certain quality to these criticisms, and renders them partly unanswerable, is the fact that Grant is dead.

As one who loved and honored Grant, I would like to submit some hasty notes in reply to General Smith, more as suggestions, however, than as a consecutive answer to an article ingeniously written to conceal an ignoble assault upon the dead captain.

General Smith epitomizes the qualities which constitute a great captain. "The number" of great captains "may be counted upon the fingers of one hand," and among them "Napoleon stands pre-eminent."

Leaders of armies—"great captains"—war heroes, in these modern constitutional times, when government is the will, and sometimes the caprice of a free people, cannot all be emperors, kings, or even presidents. Generals must take their armies and war resources from legislatures; they must consider the civil policy of their government, and act in accord with that policy. They must produce their best results with a view to the government's stability.

Our civil war was, therefore, truly civil, curiously marked on either side by the dependence of civil authority upon military success, and as such to be studied as unique among wars. I know of no campaigns resembling it, unless those of Marlborough, who arranged the marching of his columns according to the votes of the House of Commons.

The attack of Beauregard on Sumter was a civil act, intended to force Virginia into secession. Grant considered the exigencies of Lincoln's administration in his move on Vicksburg. Sherman's capture of Atlanta was a political answer to the declaration of the Democratic convention that the war was a failure. Sheridan's Shenandoah campaigns in 1864 were swayed by the necessity for re-electing Lincoln. Here are definite examples of war under representative constitutional conditions—of war governed by civil rather than military considerations.

Beauregard, Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan, in these campaigns, were subordinate to their governments, as Washington and Wellington had been before them. So likewise was Napoleon in his

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earlier campaigns, so long as France had a government reputable enough to inspire his respect and strong enough to insure his obedience. His pre-eminence as a great captain came from the absolute possession of the resources of a vast empire. Washington, Wellington, and Grant are great captains, whose achievements were under civil control. While history shows that this irresponsibility of Napoleon gave him mighty opportunities, it shows likewise that it led to self-will, ambition, vanity, and to what surely comes as the consequence—humiliation and downfall. History, on the other hand, in the case of Washington, Wellington, and Grant, shows splendid, enduring results, the career of each a blessing to civilization, and their names to live with lustrous and enduring fame.

General Smith sees in modern history but one great captain whose powers were "used in the cause of liberty"—and no such man among his comrades and friends in the Union army. This is a pathetic confession by a soldier who, like Napoleon, had the chance to have shown what great powers could have accomplished. I have read few things more touching, for General Smith writes as one who remembers the great days, and who would live in history as having done something more than build pontoon bridges for the armies of Thomas and Sherman to cross.

Let us be just to our own time. If history is truly read, will it not appear that Washington fought for independence of British rule, rather than individual freedom? Was not our early war a Parnell movement for Home Rule—and not like that of Garibaldi for the freeing of a nation from alien domination, and of Garrison for the enfranchisement of a race? Washington bought and sold slaves. The constitution of 1789, although studiously avoiding the word "slave," protected slavery. We give to Washington absolute love and veneration, but is it not rather as the founder of a nation regarding slavery as a sacred institution than as a soldier of liberty. I find Washington to be my great captain of American Independence. But I find Grant, Sherman, and their companions to be my great captains of American liberty, and, so far as the liberty of the citizen is above the independence of the State, so will the war for liberty in 1861 stand in history above the war for Independence in 1776.

Grant's civil object as a soldier was to safeguard the Government. In the beginning the war was for the Union. He was the

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soldier of the Union. The war became a war for Freedom. Grant became the soldier of Freedom, moving ever in the orbit of Washington and Wellington, a soldier in obedience to the law, a soldier who would have as readily suppressed the secession of New England as the secession of Virginia.

As a military study the "campaign of attrition" is scientific, and will be sustained by the highest authorities on the art of war. The problem before Grant was what has rarely devolved upon a great captain. It was not the defeat, but the destruction of his enemy. He could not fight, like Wellington or Moltke, for a peace conference, or a treaty—fight while diplomatists were in negotiation—he had to destroy or be destroyed. He had an enemy with whom he could not treat, with whose commander he was sternly forbidden to have a conference on any but military matters. His "campaign of attrition" was, therefore, to hold as in a vise his immediate antagonist, sending minor armies to destroy the country upon which that enemy subsisted. When those armies came within supporting distance Grant launched forth and conquered in one of the greatest battles of history. He not only defeated but destroyed his enemy, securing freedom to millions of slaves, and assuring a republican form of government to hundreds of millions of freemen. "If," says Thiers, in the passage quoted by General Smith, "the identification of the multitude with a single individual, which produces force in the highest degree, serves to protect, to defend a noble cause, that of liberty, then the scene has a grandeur in its moral as well as its other aspects."

I see this grandeur in the achievements of Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan, who are the great captains of this age, and as such will be honored by our children. I take Grant as the chief and type, one of the host of patriotic people who, suddenly aroused to war, met it as brave men should. Some had professional education, some limited experience, but they had one soul, one purpose. They were the heroes, and because of what they did Freedom is the law of the land.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

FOSSIL FALLACIES.

"*People who live in glass houses should not throw stones.*"

They are the only ones who may. The fact that men so cleverly excuse or justify their own weaknesses, is proof conclusive that they have no right to deal severely with those they chance to be free from. The same course of reasoning that mitigates their faults applies to others, and calls for charity and tolerance and liberality.

This new doctrine is the one to which we must come.

The gossips and critics and censors must preface their comments with an admission that they share the fault at which they strike. Else are they unfair, unjust, incompetent. Their very immunity and perfection disqualifies them.

The sentiment must prevail, that it is cowardly to throw stones that hurt and wound, when unable to understand or appreciate—when securely fortified behind the fortress of immunity.

This newer doctrine is the better one. When it prevails we shall all be wiser and happier, than in these days, when we are "censors of such vices as we are not tempted to commit, and satirists of such virtues as we are not allured to imitate."

"*Contentment is better than riches.*"

That sounds like the despairing wail of a disappointed man. It is a patent medicine, intended for those who have tried for success and have failed. It is warranted to have the same soothing effect that the conclusion about the grapes had on the fox. If taken in sufficiently large doses it will make a man a helpless nonentity. It is a narcotic that does more harm than good. It puts to sleep the very ones who need waking.

The fact is, contentment is satisfied laziness. Those who better themselves and get the grapes do not think they are sour.

A true man is not necessarily discontented, but he is ever aspiring. He would do more—be more—get more.

He does not care for absolute contentment. The utmost he will admit is that contentment, with riches, is better than without them.

"*Men were born to succeed, not fail.*"

Then a vast number of men do not serve the purpose for which they were born. Success is the exception—failure the rule. The retrospect is a picture of unfruitful effort. The contemplation of it should make us more active and earnest; but we take a good look at the picture and go right along accumulating—"nothing but leaves."

WALTER GREGORY.

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II.

THE WORKINGMAN'S SUNDAY.

DR. FELIX L. OSWALD, in his article on "The Coming Civilization," speaks as follows concerning the Sunday of the future for workingmen: "The workingmen of the future will most emphatically protest against mediæval methods of government interference with legitimate rewards of industry; as, for instance, by the suppression of public recreation on the only day when about ninety-nine per cent. of our laborers find their only chance of leisure." If the workingmen of the future are wise they will do nothing towards breaking down the legal restrictions which are still thrown around Sunday observance in this country. They ought, on the contrary, to use all their influence to preserve Sunday as a day of complete rest. The workingman, surely, needs one day of rest out of seven. The introduction of public amusements on Sunday would diminish the respect and reverence with which we, as a nation, have always regarded that day, and it would be but a short time before the "Lord's Day" would be completely secularized. As a proof of this, take the Sunday of the present in France and Germany. In those countries is surely realized Dr. Oswald's ideal of the workingman's Sunday. There is an unlimited license in regard to amusements, and, what seems to follow as a necessary consequence, an almost unlimited license in regard to business. From the statistics lately collected by the Prussian Government from thirty of its thirty-five departments, we learn that of the 500,156 manufacturing establishments of all kinds in those provinces, 57.75 per cent. were operated on Sunday. Of the 147,318 establishments interested in trade and transportation in twenty-nine provinces, 77 per cent. were operated on Sunday. In France the case is not quite so bad, but it is well known that the amount of business transacted on Sunday in Paris is immense. In each of these countries thousands of laborers and clerks labor from one week's end to another without any opportunity for rest, recreation, or self-improvement. What a strain this must be on wearied muscles and overwrought nerves; and how intensely must the tired laborer long for one day in seven in which to take rest! But he has voluntarily reduced himself to this degraded condition, and there is no redress for him now, for if he refuses to work on Sunday his employer dismisses him, and secures some one who will.

Now, does the American workman propose to follow the example of his French and German brother? It will be a sad day for himself and his country when he does so. Already is there a strong tendency here towards the secularization of the Sunday. Many of our railroad companies run their freight and passenger trains on Sunday, and if their employés refuse to work they are promptly discharged. Other corporations, and even private individuals, are following in the wake of the railroad companies. Nothing would please avaricious capital and grasping monopoly better than to see a complete secularization of the Sunday in the United States, and nothing would tend more towards the degradation and demoralization of our working classes, and through them of the whole country.

WILLIAM BLACK STEEL.

III.

MAN'S ORIGIN.

IN an article entitled "Possibilities of Animal Intelligence," lately published in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, appears this sentence: "Before he showed mental activity, man, according to the best and now agreed authorities, led by

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Cope, was an anthropoid ape, etc." There are three theories as to the origin of man. The first explains his presence by a special creation ; the second theory of origin is by heterogenesis, the supporters of this theory arguing that there is nothing incredible in the supposition that a child capable of inventing a tool and building a fire could have been born to an anthropoid ape.

The third, or "Darwinian theory," is that of evolution under known laws. Darwin's theory is sometimes stated to be that man is descended from the monkey, or one of the apes. This is an error, which was corrected by Darwin himself. His statement was that "man is the descendant, with other species, of some ancient lower and extinct form." While the early remains of man show that he originally occupied a position scarcely above that of the beasts, and that he has reached his present height of intellectual and moral enlightenment through the complex motive forces of civilization, consisting of the growth of wants, social and national endowments, geographical surroundings, the commingling of nations, and the influence of great men; yet no competent anatomist to-day would maintain that the human species was, or could be, the offspring, however remote, of any other known species of animal of all the millions of families scattered all over the globe. Not one has been discerned that does not lack the true specific characters of man, and although many anomalies in human anatomy have been shown, the "connecting link" between man and any lower species has never been pointed out. The inference drawn from the argument from embryology does not, by any means, justify the conclusion that the development of the embryo portrays within the limits of nine months the life history of the race through the countless ages of geologic time. We must draw a distinction every where between what belongs to the brute and what belongs to man. A profound interval, without connection, separates the human race from all others. No other species comes near the human species; no genus even or family. The human family stands alone. Anthropology, ethnology, and prehistoric archæology all prove this. Man is the only animal that, by cultivating the different elements which make up the sum of what we call civilization, has conquered the organic world, and he has done this by virtue of a potentiality of growth which knew no limits, and foreign to any other known species of animals. If "missing links" are sought for, we would venture to suggest that a fruitful field for research is in the gap which intervenes between the close of the paleolithic and the beginning of the neolithic age. There are indications of a long period of time in which numerous geological strata were deposited which contain no human remains. The climate passed from an arctic temperature almost to that with which we are now acquainted. The mammoth, the reindeer, and the great felines disappeared and never returned, and with the beginning of the neolithic period we are brought abruptly into the presence of a new race of men, with a great advance in the arts and in social organization. What became of paleolithic man? Did he die out or migrate? or was he exterminated? or did neolithic man enter Western Europe from Central or Western Asia, bringing with him his arts and his cereals?

EDWARD C. MANN, M. D.

IV.

THE SALOON IN INDIAN TERRITORY.

Two years ago it was my lot to spend several months in the immediate vicinity of the Indian village described by Gail Hamilton in the REVIEW for January. Judging from my experience there I am inclined to think that the article referred to is unintentionally misleading in regard to the sale of liquor in the territory. The prohibitory law referred to does not apply to the United States Reservation

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at Fort Gibson. On Indian land there is not one open saloon to be found. The territorial police are very vigilant in ferreting out smugglers, and the United States Court at Fort Smith, Arkansas, before which such offenses are tried, is very prompt and stringent in punishing them. The best informed men there told me that there would not be much trouble with whisky there if its sale was not allowed on the United States Reservations. All agreed that the establishment of open saloons among the Indians would make the Territory utterly uninhabitable for whites, and hasten greatly the extinction of the Indians themselves. The first instinct of a drunken Indian is to shoot. The mark may be horse, cow, pig, man, or empty space—no matter what, just so that he may shoot.

W. H. JOHNSON.

V.

THE COAL STRIKE.

ONE of the phenomena of the present time is the unanimity with which a demand for the restriction of immigration comes from all parts of the country, and from all classes of people. The demand has been made in poetry and prose; by the pulpit and the press; by the laborer and the capitalist; by the rich and by the poor, and underlying it is a universal and earnest public sentiment.

This sentiment, while it has been of slow growth, has apparently suddenly found its voice. The reason is plain. Immigration has not only been unchecked but it has been unduly forced beyond its natural proportions. Not only have foreign governments shipped to our shores their paupers and criminals, but American employers have imported cargoes of human beings who were in no sense fit to become American citizens. We have an illustration of what follows such a procedure in the rioting among the strikers in the coal regions.

The coal barons have only to thank themselves for this injury to their business, and if they only were affected the general public would probably let them suffer without comment. But events have shown that these coal barons have done something far more widely reaching in effect than at first appears. They have introduced into this country hordes of ignorant, debased, and ferocious Poles and Hungarians. They were introduced, not because they were better workmen, but because they might be hired cheaper. In order that the millionaires of the Schuylkill Valley might save a few cents this gangrenous element was introduced into our national life.

The result is that these recent introductions have become worse than the evils they were intended to supplant. They have demanded more than their predecessors were satisfied with, and have broken out into rioting and violence. They have cast discredit upon organized labor, and the impunity which they have hitherto enjoyed is but an invitation and inducement to the ignorant and violent classes throughout the country to be disorderly.

The thoughtful American sees, therefore, the perils which are threatened by the immigration of a debased population—the coal strike is but one example from which he gains wisdom.

It may be said that it was the awful crime of the Chicago Anarchists which fanned the slumbering sentiment of the people into flame. It was the horror of that crime which roused the nation to a realization that the motives and objects which brought foreigners to this country had changed from what they were in the past, that men came here now, not that they might labor and become good citizens, but rather that they might propagate doctrines in every respect hostile to our theory of government. The liberty which our institutions offer them, they turn to license. They are vipers who would sting their preservers.

The riots accompanying the various labor strikes of the past few years have

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made it plain to all careful observers that the native American laborer is quiet and peaceable, though jealous of his rights, and that it is the foreign born laborer who seizes every chance to foment strife and indulge in violence.

This is one of the lessons of the present strike.

OLNEY SEARLES.

VI.

CLASSICAL TYPES.

IT is very unfortunate that no copies have survived of the daily journals published in the palmy days of Nineveh, Babylon, Greece, or Rome. Stereotype plates were not invented then, at least no evidence exists of their use, but from the few scraps of gossip that have come down to our degenerate age we may form some idea of the topics antique and even prehistoric, that interested society. It would seem that prevailing tastes at the centres of intellectual culture were not wholly unlike our own.

The arena then, as the stage to-day, afforded material for a goodly portion of current gossip. To limit ourselves to a single item, the gladiator appears to have been placed upon a very enviable pinnacle of fame. It has come down to us through various channels of information that he was petted and made much of by the grand ladies of his time; that he had all that heart could wish in the way of luxuries, and that, at least while he was young and handsome and strong, he could do about as he liked, and no questions asked. His simulacrum has survived in the marbles of Praxiteles and in the bas-reliefs of a still earlier day, and literature preserves the records of his feats of arms. Fortunately, perhaps, for him, he generally got himself speared or otherwise put out of the way before he fairly began the downward course, and the fellow that hurled the fateful spear or wielded the short broadsword, stood ready to take his place in popular favor. All this is very nice and classical, when read about in Assyrian, or Greek or Latin, and one is tempted to speculate whether it gave rise in its day to the species of derogatory remark that follows the footsteps of our modern gladiators. Here, for instance, are our sister cities of Boston and London. They have both of them gone crazy of late, each in its own fashion, over a modern representative of the arena —that is to say, of the prize-ring.

In the American city a sculptor has reproduced his magnificent physique in enduring marble, which recently attracted admiring crowds in a public hall. The fact that the distinguished subject broke his arm not long since in a drunken brawl was announced as a public calamity, while his little eccentricities in the way of wife-beating and other brutalities are passed over as lightly as possible in all really competent and appreciative circles. Like most of his famous countrymen he has lately indulged in a trip to England, and has been received with distinguished honors alike by royalty and the press, for he granted the Prince an interview and accepted from him a mark of distinguished consideration. *Punch* has given him the benefit of gratuitous advertisements in the shape of cartoons, and, upon the whole, he has received more attention than any American of his time. Certain fastidious classes in both countries affect to look with contempt upon such demonstrations, but they find nothing offensive in the deification of the classical gladiator. Agonistes of Athens and Retiarius of Rome were probably quite as conspicuous for personal rufflanism as any of our modern pugilists, but we do not find them objectionable as objects of art or as types of the perfected manhood of those days. We praise the Greek system that developed the physical at the same time with the intellectual, but forget that perfection in either must have been attained at the expense of the other. If the world lasts long enough to retire the present time into a remote and classical past, perhaps the Bostonian statue will be

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unearthed minus an arm or two, and placed in the great art gallery of the time to be admired of all beholders, and perhaps files of our daily papers will be cited to show how in this nineteenth century the whole man was cultivated until approximate perfection was reached in the type thus wonderfully preserved by the sculptor's art.

ADRIAN REXFORD.

VII.

PERNICIOUS LITERATURE.

THE evils which affect our political system are but the natural results of the corruption of society and the individual members of the body politic. In all of our great cities are localities which are the breeding places of crime—cess-pools toward which the vice of the surrounding country drains—and from these sinks of iniquity arise the poisons which eat out the moral life of the nation. Broadcast over the land—thick as dead leaves blown by the autumn winds—fly printed leaves from the tree of evil knowledge. In them crimes are gilded; lawlessness is valor; murderers, thieves, and criminals are the heroes. The man, or woman, or child who peruses them, goes to the State prison, the gambling house and the brothel to find the companions of his leisure hours, the personages who will dwell in his thoughts when his hands are busy. Courage, independence, heroism, and a spirit of self-sacrifice are qualities which have become antiquated and obsolete. Argosies of fancy and of fact, which wove spells of tenderness and honor around the lives of the great and good men and women of times gone by, have been allowed to go down into the abyss of out-of-print; and in their stead we have a Babel of dialects, a hodge-podge of criminals and detectives, a pemmican of adventure—bear and Indian and scout and trapper and cow-boy boiled down to the dregs of condensation.

All the quaintness and innocence of childhood—its originality—its tenderness—its sprightful tricks—its infinite, unconscious drollery—the serious earnestness of its fun—the natural religion of its plays—the delicious oddity of its sayings—all, all disappear when the child has fed its mind upon that pernicious literature which the great cities spread over the country.

It is next to impossible to reform those who have lost all faith in the sincerity, honor, or goodness of human nature—who believe that people in general are all bad, who have been taught that all criminals are heroes. In such hearts there is a reservoir of rage and vice, invisible save when some flame, hotter than usual, bursts momentarily forth. And if our national life is growing worse, if society is growing more corrupt, it is because our young men and women, who are entering into manhood and womanhood, have, in childhood, fed their minds on pernicious literature.

Childhood is the time when the ideals of life are formed. In the dreams of childhood are found the germs of many a man's career. The seeds sown in the mind of the child will germinate into the character of the man and ripen into the pleasant fruit of good deeds or the Dead-Sea-apples of sin. And so, if we would have citizens capable, by voice and vote, of wisely governing and directing the affairs of the nation, we must see to it that the children of the land are early taught to be manly and honest, pure and true.

But, apart from these considerations of the worldly power and prosperity of the nation, there is a higher duty which we are called upon to fulfill—a duty whose performance or omission must be accounted for when the great Judge of all men puts to us the question, "Where is thy brother?" Think you that the old, old answer with which humanity has so long stifled its conscience will suffice then? Shall we be absolved from blame if we give the answer of Cain, "Am I my brother's keeper?" When eyeballs glaze and ears grow dull—when the golden

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cord that binds the soul and body together is frayed and breaking, and life is ebbing away—what will it matter to us then that we have been clad daintily, that Science has been our guide, or that Art has surrounded our lives with all that is fair and pleasant? Better far, if out of the darkness of the Valley of the Shadow of Death we hear a voice speaking to us words like these: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

ARTHUR DUDLEY VINTON.

VIII.

COLONEL INGERSOLL ON CHRISTIANITY.

COLONEL INGERSOLL'S opinion of Christ is, of course, of great value to the world but it would have been in better taste had he trusted to his admirers to draw the comparison with which he favors us when he applies to Christ words ostensibly quoted from some attack upon himself. Christ was indeed also a "reformer" and an "infidel," but there was nothing "cruel in his treatment of the belief of others."

It is there that the resemblance ends.

Christ, indeed, came "not to bring peace but a sword." He did most truly war against the belief of others with a calm persistence that bespoke his high purpose; but it was not to throw down their gods and leave their temples desolate; to overthrow the result of ages of groping for the cause of things and leave the world helpless, like a child crying in the dark. If he destroyed their gods it was to give them that which symbolized more adequately the Truth,—that is, the Power of the Spirit. More than that, he was too wise a teacher to attempt, witness his own words quoted by John (chap. xvi.), "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot *bear* them now."

In his day the world had outgrown the purely sensuous religion of the Greeks, and a glimmer of the possibility of a spiritual side to man's nature had begun to break through the aura of popular thought. Yet, because men had found their feet was not to him a reason for leaving them in their weakness to learn the way alone. Instead of that support they had outgrown he gave another, lest they should faint and fall by the way. He never said, "There is no God," but, there is but one God in whom is all the power of your many gods vested.

For the Jew, who already had the revelation, he carried it a step further when he declared the right of all men to salvation, and for all he prepared the way for the evolution of the whole Truth by giving to the world precepts whose practice would serve to subordinate the brute side of man's nature and foster the spiritual side, through which only can the truth be perceived. It is by symbols that we learn; it is by faintly realized ideals that we form new ones. If the gifted Colonel would but remember that the world is yet young, that it needs still its pictures and its stories of its Bayards and its Richard of the Lion Heart—although the period of Santa Claus and the ogres and the fairy prince have been outgrown—to help it to believe in the truth of those ideals which it evolves as its grows, each purer than the last!

Let him remember that he and others like him, to whom has been vouchsafed the comprehension of a portion of the truth, bear the same relation to their fellows as the Jews to the Pagans. Let him, then, have patience with those who creep because he can walk erect. Let him imitate the man he professes to admire, and if he has a better crutch to give the man who limps along the path that he has come, let him give it him in the name of mercy; but let him stay his hand from breaking that which serves, however inadequately, to help the wretch to gain that point where his weakness and deformity may be changed to strength.

L. R. ZERBE.

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BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

I.

THE INQUISITION OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE special task which Mr. Lea undertakes in this elaborate work,* of which the first volume only is just issued, is a judicial and dispassionate investigation as to the origin, development, and character of the Inquisition. According to the author's view of the Holy Office it was not an organization arbitrarily devised and imposed upon Christendom, but rather a natural, if not inevitable, evolution of the forces at work in the thirteenth century. What those forces were are set forth in the opening chapters, which describe the "spiritual despotism" which, for the time, held absolute dominion over the consciences of men, and which was a development of the ancient episcopate in the direction of a centralized hierarchy. With this came the corruption of the higher clergy and the general prevalence of abuses in the Church. Mr. Lea is no apologist for the Church of this era, and the picture he paints is one with which Protestant readers are usually familiar. From this state of things a reaction in time set in, which began in the awakening of the human mind and consciousness. This led to heretical movements, which were concerned, not so much with subtleties of doctrine, such as disturbed the quiet of the early centuries, but with protests and combinations directed against ecclesiastical corruptions and scandals. Of course there were extravagances, blunders, and foolishness among heretics, but these were but the extreme lengths to which the reactionary pendulum swung. Meanwhile, the morals of the people sank to a low ebb, and the outlook was dark and deplorable. Then the spiritual powers took upon themselves the task of righting matters, but they began at the wrong end. Instead of cleansing the Augean stable of ecclesiastical corruption, they fought the heretics with fire and sword. But there arose within the ranks of orthodoxy the Mendicant Orders, ascetic, pious, and yet not Protestant or heritical. Here was an instrumentality which the Church could use with effect, and these orders became willing tools for the suppression of free thought and free speech. Thus grew the Holy Office.

"As the institution gradually assumed shape and organization in the effort to find some effectual means to ferret out concealed heretics, the Dominicans were the readiest instrument at hand, especially as they professed the function of preaching and converting as their primary business. As conversion became less the object and persecution the main business of the Inquisition, the Franciscans were equally useful."

Not that there was any formal commitment of Inquisitorial functions to these

* "A History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages." By Henry Charles Lea. In three volumes. Vol. I. Harper & Brothers.

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orders, for, as occasion required, the Papal See would confide these functions to clerics of any denomination; but from the character, peculiar discipline, and moral influence of the orders, the work of the Inquisition gradually fell chiefly into their hands. Nor was persuasion the only weapon employed. Force was found to be necessary to bring wandering sheep back to the fold, and force led to persecutions and horrors which sorely tax the Christian apologist to palliate or defend.

Mr. Lea cites abundant authorities for the facts which he brings together relative to the development and character of the Inquisition. The idea of the thing is in itself proper and wise. What so natural as the Church sending her pious and devoted servants to inspect the spiritual condition of a parish or district to advise, suggest, and abjure the people and clergy to fidelity to the Church, and to exhort them to greater holiness and consistency of life? Very different, however, were the frequent visitations of the Inquisition, which grew to be a standing terror.

"It is easy, in fact, to imagine the terror into which a community would be thrown when an inquisitor suddenly descended upon it and made his proclamation. No one could know what stories might be circulating about himself, which zealous fanaticism or personal enmity might exaggerate and carry to the inquisitor, and in this the orthodox and the heretic would suffer alike. All scandals passing from mouth to mouth would be brought to light. All confidence between man and man would disappear. Old grudges would be gratified in safety. To him who had been heretically inclined the terrible suspense would grow day by day more insupportable, with the thought that some careless word might have been treasured up to be now revealed by those who ought to be nearest and dearest to him, until at last he would yield and betray others rather than be betrayed himself. Gregory IX. boasted that, on at least one such occasion, parents were led to denounce their children and children their parents, husbands their wives, and wives their husbands."

We have not space to follow the author through the chapters descriptive of the Inquisitorial process, its rules of evidence, its power of sentencing and punishing the obnoxious, and its influence in molding the secular jurisprudence of that and succeeding ages. We may sum up to the author's opinions, based upon his elaborate researches, by quoting the concluding sentences of the volume: "It would be impossible to compute the amount of misery and wrong inflicted on the defenseless up to the present century, which may be directly traced to the arbitrary and unrestricted methods introduced by the Inquisition and adopted by the jurists who fashioned the criminal jurisprudence of the continent. It was a system which might well seem the invention of demons, and was fitly characterized by Sir John Fortescue as the Road to Hell."

Thus far the author deals with the Inquisition as it existed previous to the Reformation, reserving to future volumes a discussion of the Spanish Inquisition and of the Inquisition of later times. Objection may be taken from a Roman standpoint to many of the statements and conclusions of the work, but there seems to be no sufficient reply to the mass of evidence furnished even by the records of the Inquisition itself as to its character. It was undoubtedly a product, as our author says, of the forces of the age, and cannot be defended from any modern standpoint of churchmanship. Mr. Lea writes in the true spirit of the historian, searching for facts and disclosing them without fear or malice. His labors, if completed, will give to the world the first real history of this great power of the Middle Ages. We sincerely compliment him on the clear and logical method and style of the work, in which the reader's interest will not readily flag. Certainly the perusal of this volume creates a desire for the speedy appearance of the others.

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II.

THE ENGLISH IN THE WEST INDIES.

MR. FROUDE'S reputation as a historian will secure him a large audience for this exposition of a very interesting subject. The book* is the result of a visit which Mr. Froude paid to the islands last year. He relates in an easy, colloquial style what he saw and heard, and gives his impressions freely upon the condition and prospects of this region. No one will be disappointed with the entertainment provided in these pages, for the descriptive portions are the work of a master hand, and the views expressed on the social, commercial, and political outlook are worthy of serious attention on many grounds. Having begun its perusal the reader will probably find it difficult to lay the book aside until it is finished, even if he should have started out without feeling any special interest in the subject. Those who have not visited the West Indies will have the agreeable sensation of being themselves guided through a most interesting part of the earth's surface, and of being introduced to very pleasant society.

Mr. Froude takes a conservative view of the political situation in the West Indies. He thinks that England has already gone too far in the direction of granting the franchise and constitutional privileges, and that the outlook is extremely serious for the future. It is a fact that the Negro race largely preponderates in the British West Indies, and Mr. Froude points to Hayti as an illustration of what the islands may become under the rule of the blacks. The West India Islands are no longer of any very great importance to England, commercially or otherwise, and the inclination of the Empire is toward giving practical independence to her distant colonies. Ireland is too closely identified with national matters to expect from England anything but a very slow and cautious assent to her views as to Home Rule, but Australia and Canada are welcome to manage their own affairs. It is different with India, because India is really a conquered country occupied by millions of an essentially different race. To give constitutional liberty to India would be to abandon it, and no one thinks of this happening. India is too valuable a possession to throw aside for an idea. If the West Indies were of commercial importance to Great Britain, the question of their internal government would become a very serious one to the Empire. It is a serious one now to the islands themselves, but the tendency is to throw the government practically upon the negroes, and this would be to drive the diminishing number of the English from the islands. What would then become of them? Hayti stands out as a warning. The negroes there have it all to themselves and they have not made a very good impression upon the civilized world as yet, not to speak of the horrors and atrocities of the Haytian Revolution. Mr. Froude formed a high estimate of the capabilities of these islands, and he has a great deal to say on this point. He does not think they are dependent upon the sugar trade. He mentions the case of an American gentleman who clears $20,000 a year from a small orange grove in Jamaica. Another had found a fortune in bamboos. The English in the islands take a despondent view of the situation, and with good reason, if they are to see the government turned over to their former slaves. But given a stable government, either under the United States or Great Britain or any first-class power, with the blacks as peasant proprietors or laborers, working their way up to the franchise under wise regulations, then the West Indies have a bright and prosperous future before them.

* "The English in the West Indies; or, the Bow of Ulysses." By James Anthony Froude. With illustrations engraved on wood by G. Pearson, after drawings by the Author. Charles Scribner's Sons.

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This is Mr. Froude's argument, and it is impossible to be otherwise than impressed with its cogency. "Let it once be known," he says, "that England regards the West Indies as essentially one with herself, and the English in the islands will resume their natural position, and respect and order will come back, and those once thriving colonies will again advance with the rest on the high road of civilization and prosperity."

III.

RECENT BIOGRAPHIES OF EMINENT AMERICANS.

THE influence of a great man's life* is sometimes best estimated from a distant period of time, when the events of which he was a part may be regarded dispassionately and may be seen in their exact relative importance, without the glamour which attaches to those close at hand. On the other hand, personal reminiscences of important persons or events are not only interesting but valuable, affording many sided views of historical themes and suggesting lines of thought and revealing motives for action which are not accessible to the historian of a later period. The life of Wendell Phillips, a new edition of which is just published, has a value depending chiefly on the latter conditions. Doubtless a better biography of Mr. Phillips will some day be written, but Mr. Austin has shown great wisdom in allowing the "silver-tongued orator" and his friends to speak wherever it is possible; and so numerous have been the writings of the orator, and so full and complete the reminiscences of his friends now living, that there has been practically very little for the biographer to do but weave these together in narrative form.

The path of Mr. Phillips' life was apparently a flowery one. No struggles with poverty; no unsatisfied longings for educational advantages or for recognition in his chosen profession; no attempts to gain social distinction, mark his career. His father was the first Mayor of Boston, and by birth and office held a high social position, and trained his children wisely; while the mother was of sweet and noble disposition and inculcated the highest principles of morality. All the best influences of literary Boston were open to the lad, and were carefully improved.

As the friend of the down-trodden and an active worker in every reform, Mr. Phillips' life of necessity impinges on some of the most important events of the century. The Anti-Slavery movement, prison and labor reforms, the temperance cause, woman suffrage, the oppressions of Ireland and of the Indians, all these were of deep and absorbing interest to this lover of his kind. When invited to address the public by lyceum bureaus, his terms were "one hundred dollars and expenses if upon a literary subject; free of charge if upon slavery." We are indebted to Mr. Austin for a concise and very convenient history of the philanthropic movements with which Mr. Phillips was connected, especially of the Anti-Slavery movement, which is traced from its beginnings. Many valuable addresses, some of which have never before been published, find place in this volume. Among these we notice one on The Crisis in Irish Affairs; a Reply to Dr. Howard Crosby's Anti-Total Abstinence discourse; a Reply to Dr. Bartol, on The Liberal Clergy and The Interests of Rum; his "statement" in the Grant-Sumner controversy; campaign speeches for Grant, and his last public utterance at the unveiling of the statue of Harriet Martineau. The closing chapters contain some of the many eloquent eulogies and tributes called forth by Mr. Phillips' death and are of much interest.

* "The Life and Times of Wendell Phillips." By George Lowell Austin. Lee and Shepard.

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It would scarcely be possible to put forth an uninteresting life of Benjamin Franklin* and the volume recently added to the American Men of Letters series presents a correct, readable and entertaining narrative. The plan of the series necessitates the prominence given to Franklin as a literary man. The full text is given of "Father Abraham's Wise Speech at a Vendue of Merchants' Goods," while the history of the Hutchinson letters, the political papers and the autobiography is the most complete and satisfactory of any we remember to have seen.

Mr. McMaster confesses his difficulty in determining Franklin's rank among men of letters. His name is connected with no great work of fiction, poetry or history. "He founded no school of literature. He gave no impetus to letters. . . . To place him with respect to Irving, Bryant, Cooper, Prescott, and the host of great men that came after him is impossible. There is no common ground of comparison." But among the number of pamphleteers and essayists of wide influence in his time, he easily holds the first rank. His versatility and sloth led him to attempt much that he never finished. The Do Good Papers, Poor Richard's Almanac, the printing-house, electricity, politics, electricity again and diplomacy, each interested him for a time. "Neither vanity nor persuasion could make him complete the autobiography." Yet "to say that his life is the most interesting, the most uniformly successful, yet lived by any American, is bold. But it is nevertheless strictly true." His writings are characterized by short, pithy sentences, short words, humor, good sense and clearness. His language is plain, vigorous English, not diversified by flowers of speech.

Having so far indicated the merit and character of the book under discussion, we must now confess that the work falls far below what it should be, and cannot be classed with the "Life of Henry," elsewhere noticed, or the best of the series of which it forms a part. The style, especially in the earlier portion of the work, is loose and often ambiguous and obscure, and the construction is at times so faulty that the reader must needs look to his pages before deciding whether or not he has turned the wrong leaf. Or he may imagine that typographical errors are the cause of his vague conception of some portions of the narrative. Repetitions are found, digressions are often so long that the original subject is lost sight of, and there is occasionally a strong suggestion of cyclopædic information loosely combined. Franklin as a human being does not exist in this book. His thoughts, sympathies, opinions and purposes, when noted at all, are separated from his personality. He is seen as the journalist, the scientist, the philosopher, the diplomat, the man of letters, but never without his company manners, if we may be allowed the expression.

The frontispiece of the volume is embellished by a copy of the painting of Franklin belonging to the Historical Society of Philadelphia, in which the venerable philosopher appears decorously seated by his writing table, supplied with an inkstand and a very prim quill, which has, nevertheless, a dissipated air. Immaculate ruffles fall over his pudgy hands, and a most complacent expression rests on his face. The background is diversified by a convenient zig-zag streak of lightning, which obligingly sat for its portrait.

A life of Washington, in which no line of ancestry is given, no mention made of the cherry tree, and in which the hero is not called the Father of his Country or the President of the United States, is a novelty, and Mr. Hale's work† is well named.

* "Benjamin Franklin as a Man of Letters." By John Bach McMasters. American Men of Letters Series. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

† "The Life of George Washington Studied Anew." By Edward Everett Hale. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

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The author adheres strictly to the rules for biographical writing, which he lays down in the preface, and carries out his plan of making Washington a human, living, breathing personage, instead of the dignified President or military leader so commonly placed on a height among his fellow-men, where none may dare approach to call him brother. Like so many other juveniles—for this belongs to the Boy's and Girls' Biographical Series—this is very good reading for older people. Mr. Hale has long been intending to write a biography of this sort. He even professes his desire to plan a life of Washington in which no mention should be made of the French War, the Revolution, or the Presidency, but was dissuaded from this heroic scheme. However, only the barest outlines of these topics are presented, less than half a chapter being devoted to the presidential terms. The material for the greater part of the history is taken from the diaries extending from early boyhood to the last days spent on the Virginia farm, and the letter-books, which are unusually full and complete. No portion of the book is more interesting than that which describes the boy as a young surveyor.

Mrs. Washington is introduced as an important member of the family and the centre of the hospitable home of later years, now paying for the tuning of her daughter's harpsichord, now visiting the meat house, inspecting the sugar barrel, cutting out clothes for the servants, ordering Christmas turkeys, or making "cherry bounce," her recipe for which is given. The volume is attractively bound and printed, but is worthy of better illustrations.

To the glorious company of such men as Rufus Choate, the lawyer; Daniel Webster, the statesman: Abraham Lincoln, the statesman and liberator, and Ulysses Grant, the soldier and statesman, Mr. Boutwell invites his readers in an unpretentious little volume of the biographical order.* The thoroughly delightful sketches do not, however, claim or merit consideration as formal biographies, or even as biographical studies. No chronological order is followed, even important dates are often missing, and there is frequently unpleasant lack of systematic arrangement. But these deficiences, which can hardly be called such in a work of this character, are more than atoned for by the inspiring narrative of these noble men, and the commingling of the delightful reminiscences of Mr. Boutwell's acquaintance with them with which the pages are filled. Upon this latter consideration alone, the author bases his claim to recognition. There are numerous incidents which have never before appeared in print, and even those who have exhausted the biographies of these heroes will find many facts of a personal nature, of which they had been in ignorance. All reference to possible weakness in his characters has been carefully omitted, for a reason thus stated by the author: "I have written in obedience to the rule or maxim that we value a man by the measure of his strength at the place where he is strongest. Human errors and weaknesses, from which none of us are exempt, cannot be set off properly against great thoughts expressed or acts performed. Errors and weaknesses mar the man, but they cannot qualify the greatness achieved." In pursuance of this plan, there are presented to us four strong, high-minded men of genius, and the sketches are such as a man might write, were the shade of the departed hero glancing over his shoulder. Following the chapters on Lincoln, Mr. Boutwell introduces his own eloquent eulogy, delivered before the city government of Lowell, April 19, 1865.

*"The Lawyer, The Statesman and The Soldier." By George S. Boutwell. D. Appleton & Co.

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IV.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF FRITH.

THERE are few artists who have attracted such attention from the general public as W. Frith, or who have received more evidences of popular appreciation. Engravings from the more celebrated of his pictures are everywhere to be met with, and they are always sure to command admiration. Who has not seen Mr. Holl's engraving of "The Old English Merry Making," with the grand old oak tree in the centre, the dancers, the old grandfather, the gypsies and the peasants smoking their pipes with tankards of ale before them. This was one of the earliest of our artist's great works. Then came "The Coming of Age," and afterwards "Ramsgate Sands," "The Derby Day," "The Railway Station," "The Marriage of the Prince of Wales," and other paintings known the wide world over. An autobiography of Frith, if characterized by the qualities of the man, could not fail to be interesting. One likes to meet such men in familiar intercourse, and when they sit down to write out the story of their lives, they are in a sense making advances to and seeking the sympathy of every reader.

There is a great deal that is really charming about this book.* First of all, the style is natural and unaffected; there is no cropping out of ill-disguised vanity, as if the author should say, "I want you to understand without my telling you, that I am a very big personage and have condescended to invite you into my confidence that you may be duly impressed with my grandeur." Mr. Frith writes with candor about himself and his works. "I know very well," he says, "that I never was, nor under any circumstances could have become, a great artist; but I am a very successful one." By "successful" we suppose is meant that the public appreciated his works and that they fetched high prices. "Ramsgate Sands" was bought by the Queen for a thousand guineas. The "Derby Day" brought fifteen hundred pounds. The "Railway Station" four thousand five hundred pounds. The people crowded to the exhibitions of the Academy to see these paintings. Mr. Frith's income was very large and he lived in elegant style, but not extravagantly. For the "Marriage of the Prince of Wales" he received three thousand guineas. Judged by a money standard he certainly was a successful artist. What he means by "great" is not so clear, except it be by comparison with the great masters of the middle ages, or with other distinguished modern artists. Mr. Frith's idea was that he owed his success not to any genius or special talent, but to sheer, honest work. He says: "If some of my young student friends could see my diaries for the last five and forty years, they would see a record of incessant work that, I believe, would surprise them." Even work was not the only good thing. He had the good fortune to have parents who were able and willing to help him through his days of early disappointment and discipline, when fifteen pounds for a portrait was to him an enormous sum, and when his income was not enough to pay for his washing. As for youthful predilections, he seems to have had none. His father was a respectable hotel keeper and was struck by his son's crude attempts at copying pictures, and so determined in his own mind that he should be an artist. Strange to say, the boy wanted to be an auctioneer, and but for the father's persistence an auctioneer he would have been. Sadly enough, the good-hearted man did not live to witness his son's successful career.

The pages abound with anecdote and pungent pithy counsels to young artists, from which we could fill many pages of entertaining extracts. Speaking of that delicate subject, the study of the nude, he says: "If the well-meaning objectors

* "My Autobiography and Reminiscences." By W. P. Frith, R.A. Harper & Brothers.

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knew half as much as I do of the subject, they would hesitate before they charge a small section of the community with immorality, which exists only in the imagination of the accusers. I declare I have known numbers of perfectly respectable women who have sat constantly and habitually for the nude, and, if it were unfortunately otherwise, we painters could not do without them. Many men draw every figure naked in their compositions before they clothe them. I did so for years, and ought to do so now. Then again, if the nude female figure had always been denied to artists, such statues as the Venus of Milo—the delight and wonder of the world—could not have been executed. Numbers of the great works of the old and modern masters would never have seen the light, and generations of their worshipers would have been deprived of exquisite pleasure and untold improvement.

If there was one other thing besides hard work and favoring circumstances that helped Frith, it was his discovery of his "natural bent," which was towards the illustration of modern life. In this respect he had the same *forte* as a painter which Charles Dickens possessed as an author. He looked around him for his subjects. For want of a "natural bent," as he puts it, young artists are prone to the vice of imitations and hero worship. "Until a young painter finds out his natural bent—if he have one—he is apt not only to imitate the manner of his favorite artist, but to try to paint similar subjects, illustrating the same book or poem, or in some way or other follow in the revered footsteps. Strong-headed men avoid this pitfall." And then he tells how he fell into it and how he got out of it.

One of the most interesting features of this book is in the anecdotes and reminiscences of Frith's contemporaries in the artistic and literary world.

V.

PURITANISM AND THE PILGRIM FATHERS.

A REPRINT of an English edition of Dr. W. H. Stowell's standard work on the "Puritans in England," and of Mr. Daniel Wilson's book on the "Pilgrim Fathers" has been issued in one volume by the Worthington Company.* It is not paying too high a compliment to these books to say that they ought to be in every theological library. Dr. Stowell's history took a high position on its first appearance for its scholarly and exhaustive treatment of the subject, and Dr. Wilson's treatise is a valuable contributions to the history of this country.

Dr. Stowell entered upon his task with a determination to keep free from party bias and to take a clear retrospect of historical facts. "It is not now necessary," he says, "that a man should be a bigot before he can discern the faults of the Puritans, or that he should be one of their followers in order to appreciate their abilities, their learning, and their piety." The historical sketches go back to the days of Tindal and Latimer, for he considers the true Puritan spirit to be but a perpetuation of the spirit of the old English reformers. The history of the Puritans proper begins with the first Convocation of the Reformed Church of England in the reign of Henry VIII., and their subsequent attitude to the English Church was that of objectors to certain of its forms and ceremonies, or to the arbitrary oppression by the Church of the consciences of men. "During the reign of Mary—we quote from page 151—many of the Protestant clergy who had maintained a correspondence with the Continental Reformers in Edward's reign found shelter from the storm of persecution in several parts of Germany, and especially of

* "A History of the Puritans and Pilgrim Fathers." "The Puritans in England," by W. H. Stowell. "The Pilgrim Fathers," by D. Wilson. Worthington Company.

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Switzerland. Among the great divines of Switzerland they not only became more deeply rooted in the doctrinal system which goes under the name of Calvin, but they likewise beheld with approbation the simpler, more popular, and, as they believed, more scriptural systems of church government which prevailed in the Swiss churches."

It is interesting to go back and trace the causes which, in the remote past, had so much influence in shaping the outward forms of religion in our country. Whatever may be objected to the Puritans, it is certain that on this side of the world the vast majority of Christian congregations are still under the influence of their opinions and principles to a very great extent. It is impossible for us to understand ourselves, or to know our own origin and history as a people, without an acquaintance with the great struggle for liberty of conscience in England and on the continent of Europe in the century preceding the first settlements in New England. When the Puritans in the reign of James I. humbly demanded liberty in regard to genuflections, white surplices, and other matters of ritual, and the king replied that if they did not conform he would hurry them out of the country, neither he nor they could foresee the marvelous consequences which were to follow such oppressive measures in the spread of Puritanism in the Western Hemisphere.

The Westminster Assembly of Divines and the origin of the Confession of Faith held by the Presbyterian Churches of this country form part of this history, as also the sequestration of Episcopal clergymen during the protectorate, when the Puritans were in the ascendency for a time. Dr. Stowell gives an impartial record of these things, as also of the odious Act of Uniformity which drove the Puritans as a body from the Church of England, and practically gave rise to British Non-Conformity.

The leading facts connected with the Pilgrim Fathers are well-known, and it it only necessary to add that Mr. Wilson gathered them together with great care and presented them to the world in a few compact and graphic chapters.

VI.

"APRIL HOPES"—A NOVEL.

NOTWITHSTANDING the frivolous, morbid, and introspective women, and the weak, ignoble, unreliable men who figure so largely in his imaginative works, Mr. Howells has such rarely keen powers of observation in human affairs, and especially in feminine human affairs, and so much of witty appreciativeness in his conceptions, that no one who enjoys a bright book can afford to leave one of his novels unread. In "April Hopes,"* the vicissitudes in the love affairs of Miss Alice Pasmer and Mr. Dan Mavering form the pivotal point of the story, and we are treated to a minute analysis of the operations in what might be termed Miss Pasmer's mind, could such a quantity be imagined. The opening description of a Harvard class day, on which occasion the principal characters first meet, is capitally done, and will transport each Cantabrigian back to the festivities of his own particular graduation. The Professor's wife is well drawn in Mrs. Saintsbury, who is "one of those women whom everything reminds of their husbands."

There is a fine study of a disappointed lover in the sketch of Dan, after his first rejection (for there were several) by Alice. He goes to his state-room and "lets his misery roll over him. It washed him to and fro, one gall of shame, of self-accusal, of bitterness, from head to foot." He dramatizes conversations and determines "to spend the miserable remnant of his life in going about doing

* "April Hopes." By W. D. Howells. Harper & Brothers.

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good." But at the first smile from a pretty woman his spirits grow visibly lighter. The Pasmers are types of a recognizable class. When Dan calls to asks consent to his marriage, Mr. Pasmer "from time to time looked about with the vague glance of a man unused to being so long left to his own guidance, and one of these appeals seemed at last to bring Mrs. Pasmer through the door, to the relief of both the men, for they had improvidently despatched their business and were getting out of talk. Mr. Pasmer had, in fact, already asked Dan about the weather outside when his wife appeared." The scene after Dan's father and sister have paid the Pasmers an official call, following the betrothal, is one of the best things in the book. Dan impatiently awaits the family criticisms. He is "depressed with a certain sense of Alice's father and mother which seemed to have imparted itself to him from the others." The sister's raillery, Dan's fury, and the final conclusion, "to make the best of it," are true to nature. "I think the family are well enough," says Eunice Mavering; "Mrs. Pasmer is thoroughly harmless, and Mr. Pasmer is a most dignified personage; his eyebrows alone are worth the price of admission." Nothing in Mr. Howell's previous novels has equaled the imbecility of the lovers' interview after their first reconciliation. If the average Boston girl is the slave of her ideals to the extent here discovered in Alice Pasmer, let Mr. Howells hereafter seek his heroines elsewhere. Whatever her faults, the New York girl, at least, is not devoured by her unwholesome notions, nor is she morbid. On the whole, the novel is much pleasanter reading than most of the author's recent works, and ends happily in ending so soon. One closes the book picturing all the wretched misunderstandings and the petty jealousies which are pretty sure to follow a match which is so evidently a "misfit."

VII.

MISCELLANEOUS.

AN ingenious contribution to the Bacon-Shakespeare literature* comes to us across the continent with the title of "Bacon and Shakespeare in the Sonnets." By a somewhat circuitous and decidedly original process of reasoning, the sonnets are made to tell the true history of the dramas, with the reasons why their authorship was concealed. The curious reader will be able to judge for himself concerning the plausibility of the scheme by means of the key which we subjoin:

I, My, Mine, Me.....	Impersonation	of	Bacon in person.
Myself.....	"	"	" Bacon as author.
My Love.....	"	"	" The dramas.
My Friend.....	"	"	" Shakespeare.
My Mistress.....	"	"	" Tragedy.
Thou and Thine.....	"	"	" Truth.
Thy and Thee.....	"	"	" Thought in the abstract.
Thyself.....	"	"	" Thought in delineation.
You and Your.....	"	"	" Beauty in the abstract.
Yourself.....	"	"	" Beauty in delineation.

Sonnets 18 to 87 inclusive, by this application, are supposed to describe Bacon's literary work; 88, 89 and 90 express his fears lest he should be discovered as a writer of dramas; in 133 to 137, he abandons all interest in the dramas in Shakespeare's favor, and enjoins the strictest secrecy concerning his poetical work, in order that he may obtain a public office.

*"Bacon and Shakespeare in the Sonnets." By H. L. Hosmer. The Bancroft Company. San Francisco.

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The author may possibly be accused of arranging his facts to suit his theories, but his ideas are certainly ingenious enough to be entertaining and are well carried out.

The fine romantic flavor which attaches to the story of the Nineteenth Century Robinson Crusoe * is sufficient to warrant the publication of this second edition. The solitary of Juan Fernandez is in danger of losing all his laurels to this modern castaway, who, with his compendium of the useful arts and science, book of navigation, box of seeds, and a few articles of trifling value is tossed upon the shores of an uninhabited South Pacific Island, where he discovers coal, iron, sulphur, saltpetre, pearl oysters, and finally a pirate's sunken treasure of gold and silver. His ingenuity, aided by the compendium, enables him to make steel, glass, matches, a steam yacht, a brick kiln, torpedoes with which to defend his harbor, and a balloon by means of which a manuscript account of his fate reaches Texas and he is relieved. A more fascinating book of the sort can hardly be imagined.

An acceptable little story by Jane Andrews,† from whose pen the children always expect a treat, is the history of a year in a family of brothers and sisters of very natural dispositions. The chief incidents depend on the temporary adoption of a little Irish baby by a daughter of the family, whose careless, untidy habits and fondness for novel-reading are permanently changed by the new and wholesome interest in something outside of herself.

Mr. Ballou's unpretending records of travel‡ are always of interest on account of the bright and comprehensive manner in which he describes strange countries. In his latest volume he takes the reader through some of the islands of the Southern Pacific, describes vividly the objects which would readily attract the attention of the traveler, and imparts, by the way, a wonderful amount of information concerning the natural beauties, wealth and civilization of Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand and lesser islands, which are, for the most part, unfrequented by visitors. It is noted as a curious fact that New Zealand's climate and resources were so highly appreciated by Benjamin Franklin that, at one time, he attempted to induce emigration thither from America, and printed an article with this object in view.

A compact little volume of the International Scientific Series, about everyday weather,§ is conveniently divided into two sections, the elementary and the advanced, so that the unscientific reader may learn the results of the latest investigations of atmospheric phenomena, told in plain language, and leave to the student the later and larger portion of the work. The chapter on heat and cold supplies some interesting facts and theories concerning the blizzards of the United States. Among other topics of interest, we notice chapters about clouds and cloud prognostics, isobars, wind and calm, variations of weather, local, diurnal, annual and secular, and types and spells of weather.

* "Perseverance Island; or, The Robinson Crusoe of the Nineteenth Century." By Douglas Frazer. Lee and Shepard.

† "Only a Year and What It Brought." By Jane Andrews. Lee and Shepard.

‡ "Under the Southern Cross, or Travels in Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, Samoa and other Pacific Islands." By Maturin M. Ballou. Ticknor and Company.

§ The International Scientific Series. "Weather: A Popular Exposition of the Nature of Weather Changes from Day to Day." By the Hon. Ralph Abercromby. D. Appleton & Co.

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The early civilization of the East has already been discussed by Madame Ragozin, in "The Story of Chaldea," which is now followed, in natural sequence, by "The Story of Assyria."* The narrative is characterized by simplicity, clearness and moderation, and the mass of material necessary to its preparation has been judiciously condensed and arranged. The authoress is an archæologist of more than ordinary ability and has made liberal use of the monumental inscriptions of this region and also of the Biblical records of the Hebrew prophets.

In a series of six letters,† written during two southern tours in the years 1867 and 1887, Mr. Kelley discusses anew the Southern problem, with especial reference to material resources. A clear and comprehensive statement is given of the manufacturing, mining, and agricultural facilities of the South, which will be of equal and unusual interest to the general reader as well as to the man of business. One of the most useful chapters contrasts the effects on the soil of cotton growing and general agriculture, and discusses the mistaken ante-bellum policy, which, by disregarding the importance of rotation of crops, exhausted the land and impoverished the people. The author's well-known practical knowledge of many branches of industry of which he writes will add much to the importance of this work. There is, apparently, an attempt in some parts of the book to "boom" certain sections of the country, and allusions to friends and acquaintances who are interested in Southern enterprises are so frequent and so fulsome as to suggest the reportorial pen.

A series of realistic sketches of Russian life introduce us to Vladimir Korolenko,‡ a young man who has been twice imprisoned and twice exiled in the Yakrit district of Siberia, on suspicion of having entertained Nihilistic views. His earlier literary attempts were unsuccessful, but the scenes through which he passed while in exile, jotted down to relieve his overburdened heart, were at once accepted and won him a place among popular Russian authors.

Korolenko exhibits the same tendency to photographic accuracy in reproducing places and events that charm us in Tolstoï sketches; but there is a brighter, more joyous vein in the younger author's work—a more graceful fancy, which finds subject for expression in the sounds of the forest, the soughing pines, and the bright, merry birches, the Easter procession, and the old bell-ringer. Whatever the external aspect of a Russian tale, one feels that in this grand and melancholy prison-home there must ever be a dark dungeon yawning beneath, which an unwary slip may discover. And Korolenko's work is not lacking in ghastly surprises of this sort. The work of the translator, Mrs. Aline Delano, a Russian lady now living in Boston, is, in the main, very well done.

Dr. Macdonald touches upon difficult and delicate ground in this little novel,§ and some of the situations appear to us a little over-strained. Nevertheless, it bears the author's stamp of naturalness, and the characters of the story are vividly painted. Just what the point of the novel is we are a little puzzled over. It is a

* "The Story of Assyria. From the Rise of the Empire to the Fall of Nineveh." Continued from "The Story of Chaldea." By Zenaïde A. Ragozin. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

† "The Old South and The New." A series of letters by Hon. William D. Kelley G. P. Putnam's Sons. Questions of the Day Series. XLV.

‡ "The Vagrant and Other Tales." By Vladimir Korolenko. Translated from the Russian by Mrs. Aline Delano. T. Y. Crowell & Co.

§ "Home Again." By George Macdonald. D. Appleton & Co.

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record of the experiences of a bright youth with literary ambition who left his father's farm in an English county to make a mark and a purse for himself in London, among the literary giants. We are not surprised to find that he wears out his shoes and becomes shabby and disheartened, but it seems a rather long leap within a year from this demoralized condition to the position of book reviewer on a leading literary journal, talking sentiment and literature to the daughter of a nobleman in her father's mansion. He falls desperately in love with this girl, of course, and finds time, amid the distractions of society and reviewing, to write a book of his own, but after a few interesting episodes of courtship he is fearfully snubbed by the lady and his book is cut to pieces by a rival reviewer, so that he falls dangerously ill, bids good-by to his literary career, and comes home, not to die, but to do some honest work on his father's farm, and marry a sensible girl, the companion and playmate of his boyhood. In Dr. Macdonald's hands this little plot becomes interesting and furnishes texts for some wholesome moralizing.

The collection of minor stories* by Tolstoi, here offered to the public, is chiefly interesting as representing the Count's earlier literary efforts. Beyond this, they are not specially remarkable. There is evidence within them of the peculiarities of thought which become more fully developed in the author's later works, and nearly all of them are evidently founded upon his personal reminiscences and experiences. Besides their literary merits or demerits they are valuable as giving glimpses of life in Russia and in the Caucasus.

The Hon. Emily Lawless, who writes "The Story of Ireland"† for the Putnams' series, has brought together enough historic material to establish the claim of the Emerald Isle to a place among the nations of the earth. There were days when, as in England, noble lords and fair ladies lived in splendor and were the pride of their country, and when Ireland's sons believed in her future. The story of these days, of the early English invasions, and of the causes which have led to the present condition of the country, are briefly but conscientiously sketched by Miss Lawless. The work will be acceptable for the concise presentation of the important facts in the history of this people whose affairs are, at present, of so much interest to the world.

The tragedy of "Locrine,‡ King of Britain," contains occasional powerful lines which are worthy of the poet, and has dramatic interest, though the plot is older than literature itself. Swinburne's verses never lack the rhythmic beauty and grace which are only the happy accidents of many another song writer. But "Locrine," viewed as a dramatic poem, cannot be classed with Swinburne's best work. The reader's expectation is constantly roused, only to be disappointed; the thoughts are commonplace or else repulsive, and there is only enough good work in it to remind one of what the poet has done and what he may do in the future. We doubt if Mr. Swinburne himself experienced any considerable degree of satisfaction when he had completed this poem.

In "The Story of the Psalms,"§ Dr. Van Dyke attempts, with a fair measure of success, to discover and emphasize the human element in the Hebrew hymn-

* "A Russian Proprietor and other Stories." By Count Lyof N. Tolstoi. T. Y. Crowell & Co.

† "The Story of Ireland." By the Hon. Emily Lawless. With some additions by Mrs. Arthur Bronson. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

‡ "Locrine. A Tragedy." By Algernon Charles Swinburne. Worthington Company.

§ "The Story of the Psalms." By Henry Van Dyke, D. D. Charles Scribner's Sons.

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book, prefacing his work by a brief sketch of its history. Seventeen of the most prominent psalms have been selected for treatment, the sub-titles of which indicate the line of thought which has been followed. For example, the thirty-first is called, "The Sin of Disappointment;" the sixty-third, "The Psalm Without a Petition," &c. While the work does not merit especial praise, it is worthy of perusal and will inspire devotional feeling.

The vast extent of territory beyond the Euphrates has comparatively little interest for the general reader, or even for the historical student. Its civilization and traditions have the vagueness of distance. But the story of its conquest by Alexander,* its subsequent history under the reign of the Diadochi, and the working out of the ideas of the dominant people in the following years, when told by the felicitous pen of Professor Mahaffy, will invite and retain the attention of all classes of readers. The author also attempts to show "how considerably Rome was influenced by the ideas of conquered Greece," and "the manner in which Hellenistic influences modified the characteristics of the dominant people."

There is a certain romantic flavor about Mr. Stevenson's writings, even when he attempts to portray the life of his old friend and teacher, Mr. Fleeming Jenkin† ["pronounced *Flemming* to his friends and family"]. A suspicion arises in the reader's mind that, after all, it may be only a romance, so pleasantly are the biographical details of a busy life presented. Mr. Jenkin's father and mother, his grandfather and his Uncle John, his Anne and Austin, when treated by Mr. Stevenson's pen, appear like the characters of an agreeable play. Mr. Jenkin himself, in whatever relation of life considered, was one of the genial, true-hearted men whom every one likes to know and to read about. Before his appointment to the Chair of Engineering at the University of Edinburgh, where Mr. Stevenson, as a student, made his acquaintance, Mr. Jenkin was interested in ocean telegraphy, and his notes of telegraph voyages, and also Sir William Thomson's Notes on Mr. Jenkin's Contributions to Electrical and Engineering Science (the latter forming the appendix), are interesting in themselves, and disclose, better than anything else in the volume, the marked ability of the man and the esteem in which he was held by men of influence. But if Mr. Jenkin had never lived, and this volume were a work of fiction, it would find many readers.

A "Sheaf of Sermons," preached by the Rev. Newman Smyth, at the Centre Church, of New Haven, during the past year, has been collected in a volume and called "Christian Facts and Forces."‡ So far as we can judge, none of the theological idiosyncracies which are popularly attributed to the author are to be found in these writings. There is a vigorous, original presentation of practical themes, the general trend of which may be inferred from the titles, some of which follow: "The Christian Revelation of Life," "Reconciliation with Life," "The Glorification of Life," "Personal Power," "The Gospel a Gift to the Senses." The "Study for a Doctrine of the Atonement" is an unusually clear and thoughtful presentation of an old theme. The author passes by Anselm's Germanic idea of satisfaction *or* punishment; and the later Roman conception of satisfaction *as equal to*

* "The Story of the Nations. The Story of Alexander's Empire." By Prof. John Pentland Mahaffy. With the collaboration of Arthur Gilman, M. A. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

† "Memoir of Fleeming Jenkin." By Robert Louis Stevenson. Charles Scribner's Sons.

‡ "Christian Facts and Forces." By Newman Smyth. Charles Scribner's Sons.

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punishment, both of which he finds distant and unreal to the modern thinker, and endeavors to bring the grand central truth of Christianity into vital connection with modern habits of thought. The rhetorical excellencies of the book are numerous.

A second collection of sermons* is from the pen of a well-known and popular religious writer, and contains an exposition of twenty-one themes, each bearing upon some phase in the early life of Christ, concluding with The Temptation. The author's purpose of presenting a connected history of the preparatory years of "The Divine Man" is ably accomplished and the work will be valuable and interesting to the Bible student and to Christian readers generally.

"The Story of Antony Grace"† is a pleasantly written English novel which minutely describes the life and adventures of a lad early left an orphan and supposed to be a penniless. The plot is somewhat conventional, involving considerable persecution and brutality, which is, however, overbalanced by the kindness and generosity of Antony's humble friends, and the story ends happily with the punishment of the vicious and the happiness of the virtuous. The style is excellent and the story entertaining.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

D. Appleton & Co.

Natural Resources of the United States. Jacob Harris Patton, M.D., Ph.D.

Animal Magnetism. Alfred Binet and Charles Féré.

Home Again. George MacDonald.

The Story of Antony Grace. G. Manville Fenn.

A New Rendering of the Hebrew Psalms into English Verse, with notes, critical, historical and biographical, including an historical sketch of the French, English and Scotch metrical versions. Abraham Coles, M.D., LL.D.

Charles Scribner's Sons.

The English in the West Indies; or The Bow of Ulysses. James Anthony Froude.

Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.

Napoleon and the Russian Campaign. Count L. N. Tolstoi. Translated from the third French edition by Huntington Smith.

The Long Exile and other stories for children. Count N. L. Tolstoi. Translated from the Russian by N. H. Dale.

Macmillan & Co.

A Study of Religion; Its Sources and Contents. James Martineau, D.D., Ph.D. 2 Vols.

Thomas R. Knox & Co.

Shakespeare and the Bible: Parallel Passages and Passages suggested by the Bible, with the Religious Sentiments of Shakespeare. G. Q. Colton, with an introduction by Rev. Robert Collyer.

* "The Divine Man. From the Nativity to the Temptation." By George Dana Boardman. D. Appleton & Co.

† "The Story of Antony Grace." By G. Manville Fenn. D. Appleton & Co.

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The Bancroft Company.

Bacon and Shakespeare in the Sonnets. H. L. Hosmer.

Ticknor & Co.

Under the Southern Cross. Travels in Australia, etc. Maturin M. Ballou.

C. N. Caspar.

The Universal Language—Volapük. K. A. Linderfelt.

C. P. Farrell.

Trial of C. B. Reynolds for Blasphemy, at Morristown, N. J. Defense by Robert G. Ingersoll. Stenographer's report revised.

Sheldon & Co.

The Elements of Psychology. A text-book. David J. Hill, D. D.

Woman's Temperance Publishing Association.

The White Ribbon Birthday Book. Edited by Anna A. Gordon and Mary A. Lathbury.

D. W. Leech.

Labor, Capital and Money: Their Just Relations. C. C. Camp.

American Publishing Company.

The Black Phalanx. A History of Negro Soldiers of the United States in the Wars of 1775, 1812, 1861–1865. Joseph T. Wilson.

Robert Clark & Co.

Lyrics of the Ideal and the Real. Coates Kinney.

Townsend MacCoun.

A New Plan of the Acropolis of Athens.

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